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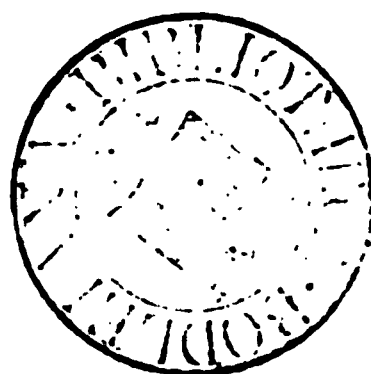
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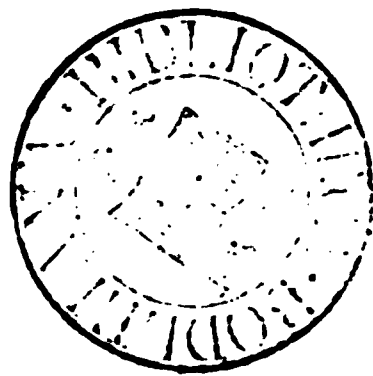


IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

LONDON: PRINTED BY
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AND PARLIAMENT STREET



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AND PARLIAMENT STREET





THE
HISTORICAL
AND
GEOGRAPHICAL
DESCRIPTIVE
AND
STATISTICAL
ACCOUNT
OF
THE
CITY
OF
LONDON
IN
THE
SEVENTEENTH
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IGNATIUS LOYOLA

AND

THE EARLY JESUITS.

BY

STEWART ROSE.

PARVUM INGENTIS PIGNUS REVERENTIÆ.



LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1870.

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THE FOLLOWING PAGES make no pretension to be a complete or worthy 'Life of Ignatius Loyola:' they are only probably rather less deficient than any yet published. When time shall bring peace and security to the Gesù at Rome, and its archives are again accessible, the Society will doubtless put forth a History of their illustrious Founder that will equal in interest and importance any of their previous contributions to modern literature.

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LIFE OF IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

BOOK I.

FROM HIS CONVERSION TO LEAVING PARIS.

IN the beautiful province of Guipuscoa, on a hill rising on the southern slopes of the Pyrenees, stands the old Tower of Loyola, where Ignatius was born; now concealed by the buildings of the Jesuit College which surround it, but then conspicuous in the valley traversed by the small stream of the Urola, dominating the little town of Azpeytia, which lay close beneath. The mountains all round are abundant in iron ores, worked from long distant times by the people of Azpeytia and Azcoytia, about a mile apart.

When Henry of Castille, to restrain the power of the nobles and put an end to their continual feuds, caused all the strongholds of Guipuscoa to be demolished, Loyola, by a special grace, was exempted from the general doom. The tower, indeed, which had originally been constructed throughout of massive squared stones, was by his orders half pulled down; but he allowed it to be rebuilt to the summit with brickwork, and such is its condition to the present day.

Castle
destroyed
and re-
built.

Over the gate remain the curious arms of the old family, answering to their name, and descending from the misty tenth century, in which tradition loses itself,—a camp-kettle hung by a chain between two wolves,—‘Lobo y olla,’ the wolf and the pot. The country people, still full of remembrances of Ignatius and his ancestry, relate that this name was given in those feudal times when great lords made war on one another with a band of followers, whom they were

Arms.

bound to maintain ; and this the family of Loyola used to do with such liberality, that the wolves always found something in the kettle to feast on after the soldiers were supplied.

Attached to this tower, or fortress, was a large and rich domain, which, in the thirteenth century, by the marriage of Iñez de Loyola with Lope de Oñaz, passed into the possession of the latter house. The house of Oñaz was held in high repute in Spain, not only on account of its ancient estates, but because it had produced men famous alike in arms and letters.¹ It was connected with the most illustrious families of the county, and was one of those called 'parientes mayores,' which had the privilege of being personally invited by the sovereign, whenever the nobles of the land were summoned to do homage to the crown, or for any other cause ; a privilege which was shared by only one other family in Guipuscoa.

parents.

91.

The parents of St. Ignatius were Beltram Janez de Oñaz y Loyola and Marina Saenz di Licon y Balda. Her family² were related to that of Loyola ; they resided in no great opulence at Ascoytia, and their house is still shown. It seems, indeed, that the people thereabouts recall all the particulars of the Saint's kinsfolk and history with a personal pride and attachment ; they show the spots connected with his name, relate incidents that have been carried down from his time to this by popular affection ; and every child born in that neighbourhood is christened after him, the eldest only called by the name. Marina had five daughters and eight sons, of whom Ignatius was probably the youngest. He was born in 1491,³ the year in which Columbus set out on his voyage of discovery ; Innocent VIII. being Sovereign Pontiff, Frederic III. Emperor of Germany, Charles VIII. King of France, and Ferdinand and Isabella reigning in Spain. His mother was remarkable for her piety ; and tradition avers

¹ Two brothers of their ancestry, Juan Perez and Gil Lopez, were leaders of the Guipascoans in the famous battle of Beontivar, where eight hundred Spaniards defeated seventy thousand French, Navarrese and Gascons, an inequality which, if the circumstances had been reversed, might have suggested the idea of a gasconade.

² They claimed a descent from the Gracchi and Scipios of Rome.

³ This is the date always given ; but it seems hard to reconcile with St. Ignatius' own account, that his conversion was in his twenty-sixth year.

that from a motive of humility she chose to bring her latest-born son into the world in a stable, that his birth might be as lowly as our divine Lord's. This stable (as usual in Spain and some other countries) was on the ground-floor, beneath the staircase of the ancient castle; and when St. Francis Borgia visited Loyola, during the lifetime of Ignatius, he knelt down and reverently kissed the floor. A small chapel, or rather altar, was afterwards erected over the spot. He was baptized in the church of St. Sebastian, at Azpeytia, being the parish church of Loyola, where he received the name of Enico, or Inigo, by which he commonly signed himself. He told Francis Borgia that he afterwards called himself Ignatius, out of reverence to the martyred Bishop of Antioch. Maffei, who knew the Saint well, says that his father, Don Beltram, was severe towards his children, and not judicious in his training; adding that, from early childhood Ignatius had become imbued with worldly notions, common among persons of his station. Nevertheless, it is said that Beltram took his son Inigo every year to the shrine of St. Jago di Compostella. Probably his mother died while he was still very young; for he was soon removed from home and sent to one of his aunts, Doña Maria de Guevara, a lady of remarkable piety, who lived at Arevalo, in Castille. He remained with her until he was old enough to be transferred to the court of King Ferdinand.

There he was trained, with other young lords of his own age, in all knightly exercises, the Duke de Najera, kinsman and warm friend of the Loyola family, taking charge of his education. He caused him to take lessons in fencing daily; taught him the art of war, and along with this made him acquire the skill in writing and speaking held in those days to furnish 'the two wings of letters and of war,' which were to lift him up to the summit of honourable distinction whereto his thoughts aspired.

According to the usage of the time, he devoted himself to the service of a noble lady, whose name in after days never passed his lips. The Saint, indeed, never adverted to this passage in his life except very slightly, and then only to characterise the whole affair as a piece of worldly vanity; yet thus much he said of the lady in question to Gonzales, that she was not a countess nor a duchess, but of a rank

more exalted than either—a lady of very illustrious and high nobility. The circumstance is one which may serve as an early indication of a mind and character which had a natural affinity with lofty aspirations and noble and arduous enterprises; but Genelli, though he discreetly says he will not hazard a conjecture, remarks at that time there were only two ladies at the Spanish court who could be thus designated. One was the Princess Catherine, daughter of Queen Joanna and the Archduke Philip; but the complete retirement in which she lived with the poor crazy queen makes it, he thinks, improbable that she was the person to whom Ignatius alluded. The other was Germaine de Foix, the youthful wife of Ferdinand.

But two other royal ladies were living at this time under the protection of the king; and the younger of these we may conclude with some certainty to have been the object of Inigo's devotion. When Ferdinand I. of Naples, married to the sister of Ferdinand of Arragon, had left her a widow with one daughter, his uncle Frederic succeeding to the throne, was invited by the Spanish king to affiance his young heir, the Duke of Calabria, with this daughter, Juana; but Frederic liked neither the Queen-Dowager nor her daughter, and thought also that the alliance with France would be more advantageous to him than that of Spain. Ferdinand of Arragon consequently summoned the widowed queen and princess to Spain, where they were received with affectionate courtesy by Isabella at Grenada; Ferdinand gave them a residence with royal appointments at Valencia, a town ever full of stir and bustle, and frequently visited by the court. The year after, Frederic found he had made a mistake, and endeavoured to revive the project of marriage between his heir and Ferdinand's niece. Ferdinand by that time had also changed his mind; he coveted the kingdom of Naples for himself.

It is probable that Ignatius was in attendance on the king, and formed part of the brilliant escort which accompanied her when he met Germaine de Foix at Dueñas, in Castille, and was there married to her on the 18th of March, 1506, to the great disgust of the Castilians, not yet consoled for the recent loss of their own Queen Isabella, and

Princess
Juana of
Naples.

who still remembered her marriage to Ferdinand, thirty years before, in the same place. Germaine was the daughter of the Vicomte de Narbonne, and niece of Louis XII., King of France. At the time of her nuptials, she is described as being handsome, haughty, gay, fond of show and amusements, and astonishing the Spaniards, who had so much revered the grave and pious Isabella, by her French manners and tastes. She was particularly fond of having entertainments given for her; and without any great stretch of the imagination, we may suppose that the wealthy and gallant Don Inigo often helped in contriving pastimes for her diversion.

It is not surprising that at this time Ignatius took a poetical turn; his sonnets and *canzones* were usually addressed to the lady he served, but they were often of a religious character; and one which has been preserved seems to have suggested those well-known lines on the love of God attributed to St. Francis Xavier. He also wrote a long poem, now lost, in honour of St. Peter. With his heart and imagination thus occupied, he was not tempted to indulge in the common excesses of young men thrown upon courts and camps; he avoided even gambling, the dominant vice of Spain; he delighted in romances of chivalry, and read diligently the twenty-four volumes of 'Amadis de Gaul,' and others, to whose popularity, not many years after, Cervantes gave a fatal blow.

The descriptions that have reached us of Ignatius represent him to us as possessed of all those chivalrous qualities and accomplishments which formed the character of a Spanish gentleman. He was generous, high-spirited, an honourable lover, a loyal courtier, well versed in every branch of knightly education; with something, too, of taste and skill in his handling of the pencil and the pen. He loved splendour and new devices for display or amusement; he liked to show himself in the saddle, managing alike skilfully the jennet or gineta, used in the tourney or the ring, and the heavy war-horse which bore him with his lance into the field. He followed the war, says Padre Garcia (but without saying in what quarter), and gained himself a name that seemed to promise him the highest place in military honours; he made himself beloved by the soldiers; he re-

506.

spected the churches and convents, and all consecrated things; and once defended a priest who was in considerable danger against a crowd of men.¹ He was scrupulous in speaking always the strictest truth, holding that as indispensable to true nobility; his words were ever guarded and modest, such as a lady might have heard; he was master of his wrath, and never drew his sword on slight occasion; he thought it unworthy of his nobility to assert a right of precedence; more than once he had appeased dissensions among the soldiers, even at his personal risk, and averted mutiny in the field; impetuous and quick to resent an insult, but equally ready to excuse and forgive; and the gift of influencing men's minds, which was afterwards so remarkable in him, showed itself amongst his companions, whether in the camp or court. He was not tall of stature, but active, lithe of limb, and light of heart—easily moved to mirth; his complexion olive, his hair very black, glossy, and clustering; his features well formed; his forehead high; his countenance so expressive and varying, that no painter could ever make a true portrait of him. His dark eyes had the deep lustre of the south; and, to the close of his life, their eloquence could command, console, and speak the liveliest sympathy, even when he did not utter a word. We hear often afterwards, from persons not among his followers, of the power of those marvellous eyes, then seldom raised from the ground except to gaze on heaven, but fraught with a fascination and persuasiveness exceeding that of language. When young he was conscious of his good looks, delighted in gay and splendid attire, and in paying his court to ladies; his movements were remarkably graceful, his manners most courteous and noble; his high birth betrayed itself even when he had assumed the disguise of extremest poverty.

Of this early portion of his life very little has been left on record, and of that little scarcely anything was derived from the Saint's own lips. He said of himself that 'up to his twenty-sixth year, he was entirely given up to the vanities of the world; but that he especially delighted in martial exercises, being led thereto by an ardent and innate desire of military glory.'

¹ Una calle entera (a street full).

Some of his biographers think Inigo served in the army of Naples; his brothers apparently were there, under the illustrious Gonsalvo of Cordova, whose wife was their kinswoman, a sister of the Duke de Najera. Inigo certainly aided in the conquest of Navarre, lost and retaken more than once by King Ferdinand; for we are told that when the town of Najera and some others, occupied by the French army, were captured by his soldiers, he refused to share in any part of the spoils. CAP-
FIGURE.

It is probable that Pamplona, where he was afterwards taken prisoner, was also the scene of some of his early exploits; for we hear that the Duke of Najera¹ fought there, about 1512, 'surrounded by almost all the young nobility of Spain.'

In the autumn of 1506, Ferdinand, desirous of settling the affairs of Italy somewhat to his own advantage; coveting Naples, and not quite confiding in the fidelity of Gonsalvo of Cordova, whose enemies represented him as seeking to make his own terms with the French king, Louis XII., sailed from Barcelona for Italy, accompanied by all the court, in twenty-three galleys, escorted by as many other vessels, Raymond de Cordova commanding the fleet. Germaine was with the king, the Queen of Naples, and Princess Juana, in another galley; and Inigo probably not far off. When they approached Genoa, Gonsalvo of Cordova met them, and passed into the royal galley, where he was well received, and succeeded in justifying himself with his suspicious master, for a time at least. At Genoa Ferdinand would not land, but received the senators on board; and they parted excellent friends. The weather had been all along unfavourable; the ships took shelter in the Bay of Porto Fino, where Ferdinand heard of the death of his son-in-law, the Archduke Philip; which news, says Ferreras, 'he received with great resignation to the will of God'—as he well might, since the two princes had never concealed their mutual dislike to one another. The royal party stayed a few days at Gaeta, then at Puzzoli, while splendid preparations were making for their reception at Naples. The joy seemed universal; it was very

King Fer-
dinand at
Naples.

¹ Don Pedro Henriquez.

1507—
June 4.

July 20.

probably sincere, for the Spaniards were more acceptable than the French as protectors to the kingdom of Naples, too weak to defend itself. Splendid fêtes were given to the king and the royal ladies. The Princess Juana must have remembered that she had been offered a crown in that lovely country; but the companion intended for her, the Duke of Calabria, was apparently of a character that would have made the dignity not an enviable one. After illuminations came politics; the States of the kingdom were held; but the Spanish king, 'maliciously,' it was said, prevented his bride, Germaine, from being present when the oath of fidelity was received, in order to secure the right of succession to his grandson Carlos. Many envoys came from the Pope and other Italian powers, to recognise Ferdinand as sovereign of Naples; the Emperor Maximilian also sent ambassadors. There were claimants on all sides for compensation of past services, which Ferdinand knew not how to satisfy; and Gonsalvo of Cordova made the generous offer, which was imitated by some other nobles, of giving back to the king the estates he had received from him as the just reward of incomparable services. In June Ferdinand sailed for Savona, where the King of France awaited him; thence, after three days of hospitalities, he sailed for Valencia; left Germaine to act as regent of Arragon,¹ and went himself to his unruly kingdom of Castille.

At this time we cannot trace Inigo's career distinctly, but as outbursts of civil war were perpetually calling the king's soldiers into the field, we may be certain his sword was not allowed to rest. Isabella had governed Castille with great judgment and good fortune; when Ferdinand succeeded her as regent on behalf of his half-witted daughter, widow of Philip, the nobles and the common people, opposed to one another, were both opposed to Ferdinand; and even in Arragon there were disturbances which often resulted in bringing the royal exchequer very low indeed. When Germaine held the States of Catalonia at Lerida, she could obtain nothing for the King; but going to Saragossa, where the archbishop had great personal influence, they prevailed

¹ She held the States at Calatayud.

on the nobles to offer a large and much-needed subsidy. But now the miraculous bell of Villila was heard to toll of itself; a sound invariably the forerunner of some misfortune, for in the metal of the bell the country people believed was melted one of the thirty pieces of silver received by Judas. It might have foretold the death of the Great Captain, but both Castille and Arragon thought when Ferdinand died, that the country had sustained a heavy loss. He left not money enough in his treasury to pay for his funeral; his people then forgave what they had called his covetousness; and Spain, neglected by its arbitrary and distant sovereign, and plundered by the foreigners he placed over it, had long reason to look back with regret on the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

P. GARCIA.

Death of
Ferdinand.

Jan. 1516.

King Ferdinand had made the Duke of Najera, who when Inigo went to the court was known as the Count de Trivino, Viceroy of Navarre, when he took it (1512) from its rightful sovereign, Jean d'Albret, and annexed it to the crown of Spain. But on the death of Ferdinand (1516), and under the regency of Cardinal Ximenes, the unfortunate monarch, taking advantage of the absence of Charles V., and the discontent and disaffection that prevailed among the Spanish nobles, attempted, with the aid of France, to recover possession of the country, whose inhabitants for the most part retained their attachment to his family. He besieged St. Jean-pied-de-port; but Ximenes, with his characteristic vigour, dispatched additional troops, who defeated and drove out the French; he then razed all the principal castles of Navarre, and began forthwith to strengthen the defences of Pamplona. Meanwhile, certain Castilian towns, always ripe for revolt, having profitably seized the occasion to reclaim their liberties by force of arms, Ignatius was sent to suppress the insurrection. He himself led the attack on the small town of Najera, on the frontier of Biscay, which was taken by assault, chiefly through his personal valour. But the sword, in that state of affairs, could not do very much.

The King
of Navarre.

The young king Charles brought with him from the Low Countries a host of counsellors and favourites, who treated Spain as if it had been a conquered province, with little

1517.

regard for legitimate claims or national susceptibilities. Ximenes had deprived the nobility of a large proportion of their privileges, which were both excessive in themselves and oppressive to the people, and had even succeeded, by a diminution of their territorial possessions, in reducing their exorbitant power. By his decision and firmness, by a sagacious combination of force and forbearance, by the justice of his measures, and their popularity with the burgher class, ever ready to lend their aid to the humiliation of their aristocratic rivals, he had so conducted and executed what in effect was a great social revolution, that with the exception of some slight commotions quickly appeased, the internal tranquillity of the country suffered no interruption. When, however, Charles became emperor of Germany, and, being about to leave Spain, demanded large subsidies from the Cortes of Castille, whom for his better security he had assembled, not at Valladolid, but, contrary to custom, at Compostella, the people of the chief towns, jealous of their privileges, showed determined signs of resistance, and required that their grievances should be redressed before they would vote the supplies. The inhabitants of Toledo were especially loud in their remonstrances, while those of Valladolid, who resented the transference of the Cortes to Compostella, rose in open mutiny, and would have prevented Charles continuing his journey to the latter town, had he not succeeded in making his escape in the midst of a violent tempest. A majority of the Cortes, however, sided with the king, and granted the money for which he had applied ; and Charles, now indifferent and defiant, left Spain without paying any attention to the complaints that had been laid before him, or making any provision to meet the threatening insurrection.

Then began the war known in history as the War of the Comuneros, so fatal in its termination and so remarkable in its lasting results.

Disturbances broke out at Segovia ; and Cardinal Adrian, whom Charles had made regent of Spain, sending Ronquills, one of the king's judges, attended by a large body of troops, to proceed against the delinquents with all the terrors of the law, the inhabitants shut their gates against him ; and,

having been reinforced from Toledo, compelled him to retire Padilla. with the loss of his baggage and military chest. The leader of the insurgents, who had driven Ronquills to make this ignominious retreat, was Juan de Padilla, son of the Comendador, or Grand Seneschal, of Castille—a young nobleman of great popular talents and chivalrous courage, the only person, besides Pedro de Giron, belonging to the high nobility that had taken part with the towns. To repair this disaster, the Cardinal ordered Antonio Fonseca, commander-in-chief of the forces in Castille, to assemble an army and proceed to Segovia with all the appliances for a regular siege. But the cannon he needed were at Medina del Campo, the inhabitants of which refused to deliver them up to be used against their compatriots. Fonseca, foiled in an attempt to seize them by force, set fire to some houses, in the hope of compelling the citizens to abandon the defences; but he was again repulsed with great loss, while the flames, spreading rapidly, reduced almost the whole town to ashes. Exasperated by an act so wanton and cruel, all the other chief towns of Castille, including Valladolid itself, which Adrian had made the seat of his government, formed themselves into a confederation, and held a general convention at Avila, at which deputies presented themselves from nearly all the places entitled to send representatives to the Cortes. Binding themselves by solemn oath to live and die in the service of the king—the usual phraseology on such occasions—and in the defence of the privileges of their order, they assumed Revolt of the towns. the name of the Santa Junta, and proceeded to deliberate on the measures to be taken for the redress of their common grievances. Their first act was to decree the deposition of the Cardinal Adrian, as a foreigner. Their next was to remove their sittings to Tordesillas, where Padilla had seized the person of the crazy queen, and to carry on their deliberations and issue orders in her name. Charles, now sensible of his imprudence in disregarding the clamours of his subjects, issued circular letters to all the cities of Castille, offering pardon to the rebels on condition of their laying down their arms, promising not to exact the subsidy voted by the late Cortes, and engaging that no office for the future should be conferred on any but natives of the country. At

the same time, he summoned the nobles, who had hitherto remained inactive, to the defence of the throne, and gave as coadjutors to Cardinal Adrian, two Spaniards—Don Fabrique Enriquez, the High Admiral, and Don Inigo de Velasco, Constable of Castille.

But these concessions to the Commons came too late. The Junta answered by a fresh remonstrance, setting forth their numerous grievances, some of which doubtless were well founded, and concluding with a long list of demands dictated in great part by a selfish regard to the interests of their class, and by the revolutionary spirit then rife. The nobles, with the instinct of their order, now actively embraced the cause of the king, whom hitherto, from dislike of the Flemings, they had neglected to support. Adrian and his Spanish coadjutors assembled all their troops at Rio Seco, a considerable body of veteran infantry having been drawn out of Navarre, and gave the command to the Conde de Haro, son of Velasco. This able officer at once marched on Tordesillas, took it by surprise, and captured the poor queen with several of the Junta.

Valladolid was now the head-quarters of the insurgents, and Padilla took the chief command. Their army grew stronger every day, but money was wanted to pay the troops. From this difficulty they were extricated by the audacity and address of Doña Maria Pacheco, the wife of Padilla. This extraordinary woman proposed to strip the altars in the Cathedral of Toledo of their richest ornaments; but not to shock the piety of the people, she proceeded with her retinue to the church in penitential habits, and there, falling on their knees and beating their breasts, they implored the forgiveness of God and His saints for the sacrilege which dire necessity compelled them to commit. Meanwhile, continual overtures were made by the regents to the Junta, but without success; and Padilla's soldiers, wearied with delays, having laden themselves with plunder and deserted from him in great numbers, he was attempting a retreat, when De Haro overtook him near Villalar, compelled him to fight, and put his forces, which consisted mostly of raw recruits, entirely to the rout. Padilla himself, after vainly seeking death amongst the ranks of the enemy, was taken prisoner, and be-

headed the next day. His end was as heroic as his short career; calm and patient, he met his fate like one who was conscious that he fell without disgrace.

Death of
Padilla,
April 23,
1521.

When one of the two companions who went to execution with him, gave vent to his indignation at hearing himself proclaimed a traitor, Padilla rebuked him with a gentle dignity: 'Señor Juan Bravo,' he said, 'yesterday it was our part to fight like gentlemen; to-day we have to die like Christians.'

Thus ended the war of the Commons, and with it the last hope of the partisans of the ancient liberties of Spain. Toledo, indeed, still held out at the instigation of Padilla's widow. She levied soldiers, and paid them by an impost on the clergy of the town, while she left no means untried to stimulate the passions and sustain the energies of the people. She ordered crucifixes to be used instead of standards, and went through the streets of Toledo with her young son seated on a mule, clad like herself in deep mourning, and bearing a banner with a device representing how his father had died, a martyr for the liberties of his country; and even when the French, whom she summoned from Navarre, had failed her, she maintained her attitude of defiance, and in several sallies beat off the royal troops. But at last she was driven from the city, and retired into the citadel, which she continued to defend for four months longer; then, reduced to the last extremity, she made her escape in disguise, and fled into Portugal.

Maria
Padilla.

Meanwhile, tranquillity had been re-established throughout Castille, and the only result of this determined struggle for freedom was to consolidate the power of the crown and aristocracy, which it had been the object of the Commons to diminish and restrain.

In Navarre, events had been passing which were to reverse the interests and future career of Ignatius. By the Treaty of Noyon (August 13, 1516), Charles had engaged to examine into the claims of Jean d'Albret and his heirs to the kingdom of Navarre; and, on his failing to do them justice, the King of France was to be at liberty to assist them with all his

forces. Of this engagement, Charles had, on frivolous pre-
Francis I. texts, eluded the performance; and Francis seized the opportunity offered by the Spanish troubles to assist Henri d'Albret in recovering his dominions; though, to avoid being brought into direct collision with the emperor, he had ordered the troops to be levied, not in his own name, but in that of the dispossessed family. Their leader, André de Foix de l'Esparre, who had been entrusted with the command by Francis, in order to gratify the young man's sister, the beautiful Countess de Châteaubriand, proved unequal to the position; and, having imprudently crossed the frontiers of Castille, in compliance with an invitation from Padilla's intrepid widow and the insurgents of Toledo, was defeated and taken prisoner with the principal officers of his army. For a time, however, there being no forces in the field to oppose him, he was successful. Aided by the French party in Navarre, and favoured by the bulk of the population, his troops speedily overran the country, and advanced without hindrance up to the very walls of Pamplona. Here it was that Ignatius was stationed; not that he was actually in command, but it would seem that he had received a special charge from the Duke of Najera to see to the defence of the place, while he himself went to obtain reinforcements. The fortifications began by Ximenes were still uncompleted; the garrison was
Pamplona. weak, artillery and ammunition insufficient; the townspeople regarded the French as their friends, and were urgent for granting them immediate entrance. The magistrates, desirous of obtaining favourable terms, were willing to yield to their demands; and the more so because they believed that the Spaniards would never be able to retrieve their losses and retain possession of the country. Ignatius was of another opinion; he urged resistance, and said, 'I do not think even Eneas worthy of admiration, when I see him escaping from the flames that consumed his city; for to shun the common peril is the nature of cowards; to perish in the universal ruin is the mischance of brave men. I should hold him to deserve immortal glory if he had died a holocaust of his fidelity.'

Knowing how important it was that the capital should hold out until the viceroy had time to return to its succour,

he would have defended the place at all hazards. But in this resolution he was seconded by none; not even by his brother officers, who, seeing the disposition of the inhabitants and the superior numbers of the enemy, considered the case to be desperate. They accordingly proceeded to evacuate the town; but Ignatius, denouncing their cowardice, turned from them with disdain, and retired alone into the fortress, where he prevailed on the commandant to prolong his resistance.

On the retreat of the Spaniards, the French marched in, and instantly summoned the garrison to surrender; at the same time preparing for a vigorous assault. The commandant now decided on negotiating; and for this purpose repaired to the head-quarters of the French, accompanied by three others, of whom Ignatius was one. The French, aware that it would be impossible for the besieged to hold out long, proposed hard and humiliating conditions, which the Spaniards, in their state of hopelessness, might have accepted, had not Ignatius made such energetic remonstrances that the interview was abruptly terminated, and the commandant and his companions retired. The siege was thereupon immediately opened.

Ignatius, seeing himself and those around him in immediate danger of death, prepared to meet it as devout Catholics have often done when no priest was near, by making his confession to a comrade in arms, a gentleman with whom, he said, he had often fought. Then he addressed the officers and men; he represented to them how much better was an honourable death than a cowardly capitulation; he reminded them of the duties of a loyal soldier, and the glory that crowns an heroic sacrifice. The assault of the fortress and its defence were equally obstinate. The French, endeavouring to effect a breach in the walls, directed the fire of their batteries against a quarter where Ignatius was combating with desperate valour, when a stone, detached from the wall by a cannon-shot, struck him on his left leg, and the ball itself, by a fatal rebound, shivered the right. Under these two blows he fell, and with him sank the courage of the garrison. On the same day, being Whit-Monday, the French made their entrance into the citadel. May 20, 1521.

From the victors, who honoured him for his determined resistance, Ignatius received the utmost consideration. Instead of treating him as a prisoner, they conveyed him to his own lodging in the town, where he remained for twelve or fifteen days, attended by the most skilful surgeons in the camp. Here he was frequently visited by the officers of the French army, to whose courteous attentions he responded with that winning grace and cordiality which was natural to him; and, when he quitted Pamplona, he presented them with almost all he had left to give—his sword, his helmet, and his shield. It was soon apparent that his wounds were of so dangerous a nature as to need longer and more assiduous treatment than in his present position it was possible for him to receive; and then his late opponents carried their generosity still further, and caused him to be carefully transported in a litter to the Tower of Loyola.¹

Ignatius' father was dead; and his brother, Don Martin Garcia, now become the head of the house, inhabited Loyola with his family. He had married Doña Magdalena de Araoz, one of a family whose property extended to the south of the Loyola territory, already connected with the house of Oñaz; and of whom a son became one of the most active and attached of Ignatius' adherents. Doña Magdalena seems to have been a pious and lovely personage; in later years Ignatius found her resemblance in a picture of the Virgin Mary, and pasted paper over it to hide it from his eyes.

The distance from Pamplona was considerable to one in his condition; and, whether the journey had disturbed the fractured limb,² or that the surgeons had done their work imperfectly, on Inigo reaching home, it was announced to him that it would be necessary to break the bones again, and reset them, if he wished to prevent a permanent deformity. Inigo at once consented to undergo the painful operation,

¹ The fortress of Pamplona was afterwards demolished, but on its site now stands a chapel, dedicated to the Saint, replacing another monument which had marked the spot at which he fell.

² It was the right leg which was most shattered; twenty pieces of bone were taken out of it.

and bore it with no other signs of suffering than the rigid clenching of his hands. But fever supervened, and his weakness became so great that he was reduced to the last extremity. Apprised of his danger, he desired to receive the last sacraments.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the physicians declared that he must inevitably sink if a salutary crisis did not occur before morning. That night he was favoured with a vision of the Apostle St. Peter, to whom he had always had a particular devotion, and who promised him that he should recover. From that moment a sensible improvement began; his strength returned, and the wounds healed. But upon examination it was found that, whether from the unskilfulness of the operators, or from the nature of the fracture, a portion of the bone of the right leg projected below the knee, and that the limb would consequently be shorter than the other, so that he would not be able to walk without limping. The prospect of such a life-long deformity, which would have been mortifying to any man desirous of making a figure in the world, was intolerable to a proud and energetic spirit like that of Inigo. Agility and dexterity were in those days indispensable qualifications of the true knight and gentleman in the court no less than in the camp; besides, Inigo de Loyola was a cavalier of nice and elegant tastes, and one who took no little pleasure in the adornment of a person remarkable for its graces. He anxiously enquired if there were no remedy. The surgeons replied that all they could do was to re-open the wound and saw off the bone where it protruded; but they warned him that the operation would cause him far greater suffering than anything he had yet gone through; he bade them commence at once.

Ignatius owned himself that he was chiefly induced to bear the operation by his wish to be able to wear the rich boots or leggings then in fashion; and such was his resolution, that he would not allow himself to be bound, as usual in such cases, where a slight movement is attended with the utmost risk. Don Martin, as he watched his brother all through the terrible process, was struck with astonishment, and declared that *he* should never have had the courage to encounter such

pain. But Ignatius endured all with an unflinching fortitude. Nor was this all: as the right leg was still shorter than the other, an attempt was made to lengthen it by means of an iron machine; and to this treatment he submitted for several weeks together, though, as the event proved, with only partial success, for he was sensibly lame for the remainder of his life. In after days the Saint used to speak of this martyrdom of vanity, as he called it, with a feeling of deep compunction, and as a motive for suffering great things for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

For weeks and months Ignatius lay as if stretched upon a rack; but it was his own resolve that had doomed him to it, and in this his proud heart found its satisfaction. Nevertheless, the time passed heavily, and he sought to relieve the weary hours by some diversion for his thoughts. He did not as yet look for it in heavenly things; he considered the apparition of St. Peter, and the recovery that followed, as a favour from heaven, granted to enable him to continue his former life—not as a summons to leave it. He was full of new hopes, and suspected nothing of the designs of Providence regarding him. The better to indulge those dreams of daring exploits and romantic adventures in which his imagination loved to revel, he asked for one of those books of chivalry in which he had been wont to take so much delight. But none being found in all the castle of Loyola, there were brought to him instead, a ‘Life of Our Saviour,’ by Ludolphus, a Carthusian monk, and a treatise on the ‘Lives of the Saints,’ both in the Castilian tongue.

As may be imagined, such reading was very little to his taste, but gradually it began to produce a sensible effect upon his mind. Speaking afterwards of this time, he said that his first feeling was one of extreme astonishment at the vigorous austerities practised by the Saints, and the contrast which the motives and objects of their lives presented to his own: how they kept God always before their eyes, and acted and suffered simply for the love of Him, and for the accomplishment of His will, while he sought only to please himself, and laboured solely for his own glory and worldly renown.

At times the interest excited in him was so great that he

even felt drawn to imitate them. He would pause and reason thus with himself: 'If Francis did this great thing and Dominic did that, why should not I, by the grace of God, do as much?' And so, the old instinct of ambition rising in him, but now with a new and higher object, he would propose to himself grave and arduous undertakings in the cause of God; and the more he did this, and the longer he dwelt upon such thoughts, the more courage and capacity he seemed to feel within himself for achieving what he meditated. But then, again, a crowd of worldly, flattering images would present themselves before him, and his imagination would feast itself with the remembrance of the pleasures and enjoyments of his former life and the hope of the military glory he was yet to win.

He has himself related how for three or four hours together his mind would be wholly engrossed with the thought of the noble lady whom he served, as he pictured to himself in what way he could best display his devotion to her, in what guise he would approach her, in what terms he would salute her, what gallantries he would address to her, what *motes* they would have together (*motes* are a sort of language known only to the two persons concerned); what feats of martial prowess he would perform to win her favour. Yet there was always this difference—to which at first he did not advert, but which at length he deeply realised—that while thoughts of worldly vanity and ambition were gratifying at the time, they left him dissatisfied and sad; whereas when he considered heavenly things, and how he might imitate the Saints and their dear Lord, his meditations produced in him a state of entire contentment and ineffable repose. And this was the first lesson that Ignatius received from God relating to the interior movements of the soul. He was led by his reflections to perceive that a sure rule for discovering the source from which interior movements come, is to consider the impression left upon the mind when its agitations have subsided; seeing that from the Prince of Peace proceed joy, calmness, and repose, while from the powers of darkness come depression, confusion, and unrest. Roused to self-watchfulness, he observed the changes and the issues of his thoughts and inmost feelings; he began to have a profound

GENELLI.

insight into the intricacies of his own heart ; and, from this continual habit of self-inspection, conjoined with after experience, it was that he derived those marvellous rules for the discerning and trying of spirits which are contained or indicated in the book of 'Spiritual Exercises.'

He woke as from a lethargy ; his senses were divinely quickened, light streamed in upon his mind ; and, together with this light, there was infused into his soul a high and holy fortitude, by which he was enabled to spurn the allurements of the world, and resist the exactions of human respect. He was no longer disturbed by the thought of the ridicule and reproaches to which he might be exposed from his former companions, when they came to learn why he had withdrawn from military service ; but, day by day, as he revolved the new ideas that had been imparted to him, remorse for past actions, never perhaps blamable in his eyes till now, came to stimulate him onward in a course which was naturally congenial to a spirit so intrepid, and a will so resolute as his. The more firmly he resolved to change his life, and serve God henceforth with a perfect heart, the more he felt himself impelled to follow in the very footsteps of his Lord and of the Saints. Actuated by a deep contrition, but, in his ignorance, conceiving that the essence of repentance consisted almost exclusively in bodily mortifications, he determined on making a pilgrimage, barefoot, to Jerusalem, and by repeated macerations of the flesh wreaking that vengeance on himself which his sins deserved. On his return, he would enter secretly the Carthusian house at Seville, where he hoped to remain unknown, living on herbs alone, and engaged in the continual practice of the severest penance. But not being sure that even there he should be able to carry out his desire with sufficient liberty, he charged one of the servants of Loyola, who was going to Burgos, to obtain for him exact information as the nature of the rule. The report that was brought to him pleased him well. But God had other designs concerning him ; and the only result of the purpose he had entertained was the close friendship which always continued to exist between Ignatius and the holy order of St. Bruno. While he was revolving these projects in his mind, a strange portent happened. Being now able to

leave his bed, he had begun the practice, which he ever after continued, of rising in the night for prayers. One night, as he was on his knees before an image of Our Lady, and, with a heart more than usually inflamed with love, was offering himself to God, by the hands of his Virgin Mother, to be His champion and servant for the remainder of his days, a sudden violent shock was felt throughout the castle. In the chamber of Ignatius the windows were broken, and a rent was made in the wall, which is visible to this day. It was the effect of no ordinary earthquake, for in the castle of Loyola alone was the concussion felt. But as to the nature of the prodigy the Saint's biographers are divided in opinion—some taking it as a sign of approbation and acceptance from heaven, such as was once given to the Apostles; others, as a last effort of despairing hell. Be this as it may, from that moment the transformation in him was complete. He had made the resolve which was to decide all his subsequent career, and had given himself finally to God.

This generous act of self-devotion was rewarded by a transporting vision. On another night, when he was again engaged in prayer, his heavenly Benefactress, who had led him thus far by an invisible hand, his holy Mother, his true Mistress, appeared to him with the infant Jesus in her arms. Standing before him at a little distance, she regarded him, without speaking, with a look of maternal tenderness, suffering him to gaze upon her, and feed his soul with her celestial beauty. And so he continued for a space, contemplating that vision of the Immaculate Mother and the Divine Child; and when it disappeared, all his heart's affections had passed with it, once and for all, from earth to heaven. That look had ravished his soul. All that the world loves and prizes, all that had hitherto enchanted and enthralled him, was become wearisome or hateful to him.

His time was now spent in prayer and devout reading; and the better to impress upon his mind the lessons he had learned, he employed himself in writing out the principal events in the lives of Christ and of the Saints, with much care and skill, for he was an adept in the art. The words and acts of Jesus he inscribed in vermilion or in gold; those of his Blessed Mother in blue; and those of the Saints in

various other colours. He thus compiled a quarto volume of three hundred pages; and this was the only thing he carried away with him when he quitted Loyola.

Ignatius confided to none of those about him, not even to Don Martin, the secrets of God's dealing with his soul; but his brother and the servants of the house were well aware of the change that had taken place in him; noting, as they did, his love of retirement and prayer, his reserve in conversation, his indifference to all that had before engrossed his thoughts. Those, also, who came to visit him were amazed at the luminous manner in which one whom they had known only as a courtier and a soldier reasoned on divine things. It was observed, too, that he would remain for hours gazing up into the starry firmament—a habit which he seems ever after to have retained; because, as he said, the contemplation of the glorious vault of heaven inspired him with contempt for the false grandeurs of earth, and with courage to dare great things in the service of Almighty God; and he thirsted now for the new life he had marked out.

The year which had been so important to Ignatius was one eventful in history. War raged over half the continent of Europe; and it was but a small compensation for the miseries it caused, that brilliant deeds were done and admirable characters displayed. Lantrec fought at Milan; Guicciardini defended Reggio and Parma; Bayard, the blameless and fearless, in whose history we may fancy that we see something of what Inigo would have been, had he escaped the cannon-ball at Pamplona, defied all the strength of the Imperialists at Mézières, and drove them off. Luther, now hidden in the Wartburg, had become an European power. Henry VIII., replying to his attack on the Seven Sacraments, had received the title, so soon forfeited, of Defender of the Faith, which he carried that same summer to the field of Ardres, with protestations of a friendship no less fickle than his religious faith.

But in the winter a greater event happened. Leo X., not yet an old man, died after a very short illness; and to the surprise of all parties, and chiefly of himself, the Conclave

chose for his successor Cardinal Adrian, who has been already mentioned as having governed Spain during the war of the Comuneros. Like so many other great men in the Catholic Church, he had risen from small beginnings. Margaret, widow of the Duke of Savoy, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, who governed the Netherlands during the minority of her nephew, Charles V., passing late one winter's night by the College of Louvain, as she returned from an entertainment, saw a light in an upper window, and asked who was burning a lamp at that unusual hour. It was Florent, they said, a young boy from Utrecht, whose passion for study kept him up through the cold midnight, though he was so poor that he could not afford himself a fire. Next day she sent him, anonymously, money to purchase fuel and books; but he soon learned who was his benefactress, and she never afterwards lost sight of him. He was pious and gentle; the Regent procured that he should be made tutor to the young prince. He was named by Charles V. Governor of Spain, and then chosen Pope, with no consent of his own. All his life he preserved the name of his father, Adrian; and when he was dying, he desired that this epitaph should be placed on his tombstone:—

Adrian VI.
made
Pope.

HERE LIES ADRIAN VI.

Who accounted it the greatest misfortune of his life
that he was forced to govern.

In the royal court, as afterwards in his own, Adrian lived with the simplicity and piety of a recluse. He was respected no less for his learning and good sense than for his many and admirable virtues. He was profoundly impressed with the necessity for a wide and thorough reform in the Church, and asked advice from all his clergy whose judgment and character he could trust; and if he had not fallen on evil men and evil times, his short pontificate might have been as useful as it was blameless. But it pleased God to suffer the holy barque of Peter to float long in seeming helplessness on the stormy waters—perhaps to show that He Himself, and not the wisdom of man, was its protector and guide.

1522.

The spring of 1522 arrived before Ignatius was sufficiently recovered to be able to leave home. He then went quietly to the house of a married sister at Arançazu, among the hills, and where he hoped to lead a penitential life in the caves and rocks of the Pyrenees, unobserved and uninterrupted; but he was too near his own neighbourhood, and he returned to Loyola resolved on greater efforts. He then asked permission of his brother, Don Martin, to quit Loyola, saying that he wished to pay a visit to the Duke of Najera, his kinsman and early patron, who had sent often to him during his illness. Don Martin, who probably had learned something of that enquiry which Ignatius had commissioned a servant of the house to make at Burgos, and who anyhow was averse to the altered life which he suspected his brother to be meditating, began to remonstrate with him, using every argument which reason or affection could suggest. In the agitation of his feelings, he is described as leading Ignatius into an inner chamber of the castle, where they would be free from interruption; and, enjoining him to consider well what he was doing, said, 'I know, my brother, that you meditate some great change; I cannot believe it is because Fortune has for once betrayed you; she is fickle; it is after disasters specially that you may look for a speedy success. And why do you refuse to our house the future honours we had expected from you, when you had already given us so much? It is worse to lose what we have hoped for than never to have hoped at all. Do not disappoint the liberal gifts of Heaven to you, your good abilities, judgment, valour, the favour of princes, the applause of the people, and that which seems like magic in you—the influence you exercise over all minds. I myself have no advantage over you, except in being born before you; in all other points I admit your superiority; you may found, if you will, your fortunes on your own merit alone. If you tell me you desire to become a saint, I say, there are many holy men in the army. You need not leave this house for that reason; we are not such bad Christians that we should interfere with your good intentions; but if we were, you ought to convert us by your example. I oppose no obstacle to your designs; only as an elder brother, I exhort you that you will never forget you are a Loyola.'

From such affectionate and honest words, it seems hard that no sympathetic response was elicited. But Ignatius had already begun to practise that entire self-repression which regarded with jealousy any object of earthly love or duty, and seeks to please God by renouncing the ties that He has formed.

Ignatius briefly assured Don Martin that he might trust him for doing nothing unworthy of his ancestors, or that would bring discredit on his family. He thought himself obliged, he said, on the ground both of duty and of respectful courtesy, to present himself before his late commander, who must be aware that he had now recovered from the effects of his wounds ; but as to his subsequent movements, he was as yet undecided. In all which he was careful (says Gonzales), while disclosing to his brother nothing of his future plans, to adhere strictly to the truth ; ‘to which even then he paid a scrupulous regard.’¹ His brother, seeing he could neither gain his confidence nor move him from his purpose, whatever it might be, accorded the permission he sought ; and Ignatius hastened to make preparations for his departure.

Truthful-
ness.

The hour, so long desired, had come at last. Ignatius bade farewell to home and kindred, in obedience to what he knew to be the voice of God, though as yet ignorant whither that voice was calling him. But in going he bequeathed unconsciously an odour of sanctity to the old Tower of Loyola ; for tradition says, that the room which he had occupied, the scene of so much suffering, where so great a change had passed upon him, and where the vision of the Holy Mother and her Divine Child had been vouchsafed to him, became possessed of a wonderful virtue. They who retired to rest in it, having good and pious thoughts, would find themselves sweetly awakened in the night, their minds filled with heavenly consolations, and with a devout horror of their past sins ; while ungodly men felt the house tremble to its foundations, and beheld sights which struck terror into their souls ; as happened once to a foreign soldier, and

¹ ‘De hoc enim magna illi jam tum erat religio’; and Padre Garcia says he answered, ‘sin faltar á la verdad, porque yo tenia tanto escrupulo, que no dixera una mentira por cosa del mundo.’

on one occasion to a knight, while occupying the chamber of the Saint.

During the lifetime of Ignatius, and while his niece, the daughter of Don Martin, was possessor of the domain, the room continued to be inhabited by the family ; but not long afterwards it was converted to the purpose for which it seemed designated by Heaven, and continues to this day to be a chapel consecrated to God and His servant Ignatius.

The whole of the house has been reverentially preserved, though the buildings of the Jesuit College, which surround it on three sides, conceal it from the outer view ; and it has ceased to command, except on one side, the most exquisite and romantic prospects ; this side is that where Ignatius' room remains, looking over the town of Azpeytia. The great church beneath the dome is a noble structure, enriched with jaspers from the neighbouring hill, Izarraiz, and ornamented with bold carvings illustrative of incidents in the Saint's life. Strange to say, it still remains unfinished ; so that it is a proverb in the country, when an undertaking proceeds slowly, 'It will take as long as the church of Loyola.'

The Tower of Loyola became one of the places most venerated in Spain, the resort of countless pilgrims from all parts of Christendom. So great were the multitudes which year after year thronged together to keep the feast of the Saint, that mass was celebrated outside the walls, the open country and the blue vaults above serving for a church. It was calculated (says Bartoli) that more than 15,000 pilgrims usually confessed and communicated during the festival ; and innumerable were the graces, and wonderful the conversions, by which God was pleased to testify to the merits of His servant ; and thus Ignatius abundantly redeemed the promise which he made his brother, and in a sense other and higher than either dreamed of at the time—not only to tarnish nothing of the glory of his ancestors, but confer immortal honour on their house.¹

Ignatius left home mounted on a mule, and accompanied

¹ In 1683 Marianne of Austria, wife of Philip IV., purchased the Tower of Loyola from the heirs of the Margraves of Alcanizet, whose property it had become, and gave it, together with the land immediately around it, to the Society of Jesus for the foundation of a college, of which the king was

by one of his brothers and two servants on horseback. His first destination was Arançazu, twelve miles distant, where his married sister lived. There he persuaded his brother to pass a night with him in prayer in the church of Our Lady of Aranjuez, thus (as Mariani piously expresses it) 'returning the visit which his heavenly mistress had paid him.'

The chapel was attached to a Franciscan convent there; and he looked on it, says Padre Garcia, as the first harbour opened to him after the tempests through which he had passed.

Before dawn he quitted Arançazu, leaving his brother at his sister's house, and rode on to Navarrette, attended by the two servants. He spent some days with the Viceroy; and, remembering that a few ducats, which he had formerly lent to one of the Duke's household, were still owing to him, he gave written directions to the steward for part of the money to be distributed among certain persons to whom he was indebted, and the rest to be spent in the restoration of an image of the Blessed Virgin. He then took leave of his kinsman, sent back the two servants to Loyola, and being as yet too weak to walk, again mounted his mule and rode on in the direction of Catalonia. He had resolved to pay his devotions at the famous shrine of Our Lady of Monserrato, and thence to set out on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Ignatius
leaving
home.

Ignatius was now alone—alone with God. His heart burned with the desire to do great things for Jesus. He would do and suffer all and more than any of His saints had done and suffered, to prove his loyalty and his love; and in all this (as he himself said afterwards), he thought, not so much of expiating his sins—although they were grievous in his eyes—as of doing what would be most pleasing to God, and most conduce to His glory. The glory of God—His greatest glory—this was his chief thought and aim. But as for interior acts of virtue—humility, charity, patience, self-abjection, and that discretion which prescribes the rules and measures to be observed in the interior practice of them—he as yet, according to his own account, knew nothing. The chivalric element was still predominant, affecting all the

to be perpetual patron. Her son Charles II. confirmed the donation, and to satisfy his mother's devotion to the birthplace of the Saint, ordered that every portion of the ancient walls should be preserved.

ideas he had of piety; and it was only by degrees that it was extinguished; or rather, that it became absorbed and sublimated in a higher sentiment. Of this he was now to give a signal proof—unless it were more true to say, receive a signal lesson.

The
Morisco.

He had passed through the town of Cervera, and was proceeding slowly along the high road to Barcelona, when he was overtaken by a man mounted like himself, upon a mule, whom he perceived to be of the unhappy race of the Moriscoes (as the Moors, or Spanish Arabs, had now begun to be called), who were still numerous in the south-west of Spain, especially in Aragon and Valencia. Many hundreds of them had left the country rather than comply with the conditions imposed by Ferdinand; but the vast majority, being loth to abandon their native land, had made profession of Christianity; and of these, as was inevitable, a large proportion remained Mahometans at heart. The man who now joined Ignatius seems to have made no attempt to disguise his misbelief; for, on learning that he was on his way to Our Lady of Monserrato, he began disputing with him about the Blessed Virgin; admitting that she was a virgin when she conceived and gave birth to the Redeemer, but denying that she had retained her right to the title afterwards. In this opinion he persisted, in spite of all the arguments which Ignatius, in his faith and zeal, could urge against him. The dispute soon waxed hot and vehement on both sides; till the infidel, whether incensed at his opponent's retorts, or alarmed at the warmth of feeling he displayed, suddenly put spurs to his mule, and, without any word of leave-taking, galloped off at full speed. He was scarcely out of sight before Ignatius began to take blame to himself, as well for having failed to convince him of his errors, as for having allowed the follower of the false prophet to depart unscathed. The fierce spirit of the zealot was roused within his breast, and so bore down and stifled, for the time, every sentiment of Christian charity and pity, that he seriously debated with himself whether he ought not, as a knight and gentleman,¹ to follow the blasphemer and wash out the stain cast on Our

¹ 'A Churchman should refute heresy with arguments; a Knight with his dagger.'—Quoted by *Sir Walter Scott*.

Lady's honour in the offender's blood. But then, the fear arose lest, by so ruthless a proceeding, he should be angering both her and her Divine Son ; and, unable in the heat of his excited feelings to decide between right and wrong, he determined to refer the matter to the judgment of God. Coming, therefore, to a point where the road divided, leading on the one hand to the place, about fifty paces further on, to which the man had told him he was going, and on the other to a steep and stormy mountain-pass, he threw the bridle on his mule's neck, and left her to take which way she pleased. 'If,' thought he, 'she follows in the direction in which the infidel has gone, it is a sign that I am to pursue and despatch him with my poniard ; but if she takes the other road, Heaven does not intend that he should perish by my hand.' In His mercy, God had regard rather to the untutored zeal than to the rash resolution of His champion ; for, strange to say, although the road along which the Morisco had gone was broad and smooth, the mule turned up the rough ascent, and Ignatius was saved from the commission of a great crime.

At this time his dress was that of a cavalier and courtier. A short tunic of crimson velvet, trimmed with minever, the fur which only those were entitled to wear who were about the person of the king ; hose of the same, full above and fitting close at the knee ; below which they were hidden by a boot of soft leather, decorated with a golden pendant, and furnished with a brilliant spur. At his side hung a richly-hilted sword, and in his belt was stuck the poniard, of finely-tempered steel, which just now his hand had clutched so fiercely ; while from his cap, covered with embroidery, waved the long plume which was a sign of noble blood. On reaching the little town of Iguelada, which lay at the foot of Monserrato, Ignatius purchased for himself a long coarse sackcloth gown, reaching to the ancles, and a rope to fasten it round the waist ; a shoe for his wounded foot, made of *esparto*, or *atocha*, a fibrous grass indigenous in Spain, such as was worn by the country people ; and a pilgrim's staff and gourd. These he placed before him on his mule, and so rode onward, regardless of all external things, and meditating, as was his wont, high deeds for God, up the winding

way that leads by a gradual ascent to the church and convent of Our Lady of Monserrato.

At the distance of a day's journey from Barcelona stands a lofty mountain, remarkable for the series of singularly-shaped cones or pinnacles, of which its summit is composed, resembling somewhat, from a distance, the jagged teeth of a saw (*serra*); whence its name. Standing apart, detached from the great Pyrenees chain, to which it might have been thought of right to belong, its elevation and isolated position would seem to have marked it out as one of the chartered places of the earth, about which sacred associations and venerable traditions would be sure to gather. Such, in fact, has been its destiny; for here is the far-famed sanctuary of the Madonna, second, among all her numerous shrines throughout the world, in rank and sanctity only to the Santa Casa of Loreto. The pinnacles from which the mountain takes its name are all surmounted by tall crosses.

Monser-
rato.

On a terrace about half way up the acclivity, where there was just enough space to build between the sheer precipice in front and the mountain wall behind, stands the celebrated church of Our Lady, an ancient place of pilgrimage, and close by its side the great Benedictine abbey. Upon the heights above, accessible only by steep staircases cut in the rock, were thirteen detached chapels and cells, each dedicated to its particular saint, and occupied by hermits, who were subject to the authority of the abbot of the monastery; one of their number, the inhabitant of the cell called by the name of St. Benedict, having the immediate direction of the rest. The life of these recluses was one of great austerity; their only diet being bread, herbs, and fish, 'seasoned with frequent fastings.' Once only in the year, on the festival of their great patriarch, the thirteen brethren took their mid-day repast together in the cell of the superior, after receiving communion from his hands; and on the feast days of the saints to whom the respective hermitages were dedicated, they met to hold spiritual converse with each other. Except on these occasions, and when serious illness obliged them to have recourse to the care of the infirmarian, they never left the cell in which they dwelt, until they were carried down to

burial, but (as Laborde expresses it), 'elevated above the earth, breathed the pure atmosphere of heaven, and lived the life of angels.' There were never wanting candidates for these solitary abodes, and not a few of these were men of rank, who, wearied with the world, sought a retreat in which they might find peace to their souls. After a year's probation they made their profession of perpetual seclusion; but for seven years more they were permitted to descend to choir both night and day, though they took no part in the chanting of the monks. The seven years ended, they entered on a life of complete solitude, not being allowed even the companionship of pet beast or bird—at least in a cage; but the feathered songsters, it is said, became so familiarized with their presence, that they would come at their call, and pick crumbs out of their hands. Each hermitage, besides its chapel, had its cistern or fountain, and its little garden-plot filled with flowers and odorous plants; wild pinks, roses, and violets bloom there all the year round. They employed themselves also in making wooden bowls, which were eagerly purchased by the pilgrims. The gardens of the monastery were famous for their magnificent cypresses and box-trees, and aromatic herbs still grow in great variety and abundance on the mountain-sides.

In the convent the rule and discipline of St. Benedict were strictly followed; and there was a confessor for every language in Europe. The pilgrims averaged daily throughout the year from four to five hundred, and on festivals as many thousands; to each of whom the abbey supplied lodging for three days, together with bread, wine, oil, salt, vinegar, and fuel; and if any fell sick, they were received into the infirmary and carefully tended by the brethren.

Besides the monks, who were seventy in number, there were some ninety lay brothers, religious like the rest, and bound by the three monastic vows, whose office it was to receive the guests, wait on the sick, discharge all the domestic duties of the establishment, and act as the external police of the community.

In the monastery also there was always a band of youths, thirty in number, who went by the name of 'Our Lady's pages.' They were received from the age of seven to that of

twelve, and remained till they had completed their fifteenth or sixteenth year. Most of them were the children of noble parents, whose piety prompted them to consecrate their sons to the service of the Blessed Virgin. They took their meals in the refectory with the lay brothers, but at a separate table; and were placed under the special care of one of the oldest and most venerable of the monks, who superintended the instruction they received from their several masters. They chaunted at the solemn Mass of Our Lady, which was celebrated every morning at four o'clock; and they sang canticles to her honour every evening after compline. On Saturdays, Sundays, and at all the greater festivals, they joined instrumental music to their singing; and one might have thought (says an old writer) that he was listening to a choir of angels, descended from the sky—such entrancing melody did they make with their tuneful voices and various instruments, filling the hearts of the worshippers with a most sweet and heavenly devotion.

Little probably had Ignatius noted of the beauty or the grandeur of the scenery through which he passed; now beneath majestic oaks of ancient growth, just putting on their summer foliage; now amid scarped and naked rocks, where the stillness of the solitude was rather deepened than broken by the ceaseless flowing of the torrent streams. Perhaps, as he gained the aerial height on which the convent stood, he scarcely cast a hasty casual glance to where—far below, and far away, beyond the level plain, beyond the town and port of Barcelona—the surface of the Mediterranean glittered and sparkled in the sunbeams, and where his eye might perchance have caught the faint, uncertain outline of the distant Balearic Isles. His mind, we may be sure, was intent on other thoughts and prospects, brighter and more glorious, stretching beyond the furthest horizon of a world doomed to perish for the sins of men.

There was at this time in the convent a very saintly priest, a Frenchman by birth, but whom the Spaniards called Juan Chanones. He had been Vicar-General of Mirepoix, and, in his thirty-second year, had come simply as a pilgrim to visit Our Lady of Monserrato; but, edified by the holy and blameless lives of the monks, he joined their community, and per-

severed with them in a course of great sanctity until his death at eighty-eight years of age. He observed always the strictest abstinence ; and every day he gave away in alms a third part of his allotted portion of food. He wore a long hair-shirt, and passed the greater part of the night in prayer, either in choir with the brethren, or alone in his cell. It pleased God to visit him with great infirmities, which he bore not only with patience, but in a spirit of devout thankfulness. His life was a model of religious virtue to his order ; and convents which had become relaxed, returned, under the influence of his exhortations and example, to a strict observance of their rule.

To this holy man Ignatius now addressed himself, desiring to commence his new career by a general confession. For this purpose he had written down all the sins of his past life with the minutest care ; and such was the completeness and exactness with which the enumeration was made, interrupted as it was with frequent sobs and tears, that three whole days were spent in reading it. To him also Ignatius disclosed what he had never made known to anyone, even in confession—the great projects he had formed for the glory of God, and the manner of life to which, so far as light had been yet vouchsafed, he felt himself called—receiving in turn all that instruction and encouragement which so experienced a master of the spiritual life knew how to impart. His mule he gave for the service of the monastery ; and incited, as he afterwards acknowledged, by what he had read in ‘Amadis de Gaul,’ and other books of old romance, he desired to do at the commencement of his spiritual warfare what the heroes of chivalry were wont to do before receiving their sword and spurs—the insignia of knighthood. His noble nature prompted him to inaugurate the life-long contest he was about to wage with the powers of evil by an act of consecration of himself to God, which should resemble that by which, at no very remote date, the candidates for knighthood had actually prepared themselves for their career in arms. As they had watched through the night before the altar, standing in their panoply of mail, and praying to God to grant them grace to fulfil the obligations to which their new condition bound them ; so did he perform his ‘vigil of the

armour ' ere he went forth to do battle for his liege Lord and for the royal Lady whose true knight and servant he had vowed to be.

It was the eve of the feast of the Annunciation when Ignatius went out at nightfall in search of some poor object on whom he might bestow his worldly clothing. Such a one he soon found among the numerous pilgrims who filled the hospice of the monastery. Great, doubtless, was the wonder of the man when he was requested to exchange his rags and tatters for the splendid dress of the cavalier before him. But being told that it was in order to the fulfilment of a vow, his wonder would be less. To Ignatius it mattered nothing what the man imagined or suspected. Gladly, like the great patriarch, St. Francis, when he took the peerless maiden, Poverty, for his bride, he stripped himself of his gay and soft apparel, even to his shirt, receiving instead the beggar's rags; then with great joy put on his true knightly garb as a soldier of Jesus Christ—the sackcloth gown, with its girdle of rope; his head and left foot bare; his right covered with a shoe of grass, because the leg, not perfectly healed, had become inflamed and swollen by the journey. Then he placed his sword and dagger beside Our Lady's image. And thus he watched and prayed the whole night before her altar, one while kneeling, at another leaning, from weakness, on his staff; lamenting his sins, renewing his resolutions, and commending himself and his designs to the aid and protection of her who, as on this same night, became the Mother of the Eternal Son.

Vigil of
the ar-
mour.

At early dawn, Ignatius received his Lord in the Blessed Sacrament; and then he left the monastery, in order to avoid the crowd of pilgrims that always flocked to the church on the Festival of the Annunciation, and by some of whom he feared he might be recognised. Clad in his penitential garb, he had become, in his interior life as in outward guise, another man. Inigo de Loyola was no more; and he who now descended from the heights of Monserrato was, as he called himself, 'El pobre ignoto pellegrin'—the poor unknown pilgrim.¹

¹ The sword and poniard long remained where Ignatius had suspended them. The sword was afterwards given to the Jesuits' College at Barcelona, where it is still religiously preserved.

To escape observation, Ignatius, instead of leaving the mountains by the high road to Barcelona, took the way that led, by a steep and wooded descent, to the little town of Manresa, which, from what appeared to be the mere chance visit of an obscure stranger, was to gain a name of undying renown in the annals of the Church.

It is from a narrative left by Juan Pascoal, the son of one of those who were the Saint's companions on the road, that we learn how Ignatius reached Manresa, and what was the manner of his life there.

Pascoal's mother, Iñez, whose usual residence was at Barcelona, being detained at Manresa by affairs of business, was in the habit of going frequently on Saturdays to visit Our Lady of Monserrato, twelve miles distant. She had not failed to be present on the Feast of the Annunciation, and was returning home about noon, in company with three other women and two young men, when near the Chapel of the Holy Apostles, some short way down the mountain, they were accosted by a man clad in a long coarse garment, whose comely and still youthful countenance was full of gravity and dignity; he kept his eyes almost constantly fixed upon the ground. Moving painfully, and limping, he advanced towards them, and with humble courtesy asked if they could tell him of an hospital in the neighbourhood where he could be lodged. Iñez, as she looked at him, was touched with a feeling of compassion and respect. They were going, she said, to Manresa, where was the nearest hospital, and if he would accompany them, she would provide for his necessities as long as he should remain. Ignatius thankfully accepted the proffered kindness; but when they begged him to mount an ass they had with them, he refused. The party therefore slackened their pace in order to enable him to keep up with them.

The surmises which Doña Iñez had entertained as to the rank of their companion were not long in receiving a striking confirmation. For they had not proceeded more than three miles from Monserrato, when they were overtaken by an official of the monastery, who enquired of Ignatius whether he was the person who the day before, as alleged, had presented a beggar with a rich suit of clothes; adding that the story being disbelieved, the man had been put in prison until

further information could be taken. Ignatius was affected to tears by this recital, and reproached himself bitterly for the distress he had occasioned an innocent person; saying within himself, 'Ah, sinner that thou art! thou couldst not even do thy neighbour a service without causing him an injury.' Charity obliged him to acknowledge that the beggar had only spoken the truth, but on the officer further enquiring who he was, and whither he was going, Ignatius refused to give any account of himself, or of the motives which had led to this act of beneficence. When they drew near Manresa, Iñez desired Ignatius to go on forward with a lady of her company, a widow like herself, named Geronima Cavera, who was superior of a hospital for the sick and infirm, called the Hospital of St. Lucy, from the church of that name which stood some forty paces outside the town; desiring her at the same time to furnish him with a chamber and bed, and promising to provide him his meals from her own table.

Manresa, one of the most picturesque towns in Catalonia, is situated on the banks of the river Cardenero, which flows into the Llobregat, the ancient Rubricus. At the present day it is astir with the hum and clatter of thirteen thousand busy clothmakers, but at the time of the Saint's visit it numbered scarcely three thousand inhabitants, although it was formerly a bishop's see.

Ignatius had intended to remain in the town only a few days, until his strength was sufficiently recruited to enable him to set out on his pilgrimage. He wished also to avail himself of an interval of repose to make some additions to that book he carried with him, and which he cherished with so much care. What it was that induced him to prolong his stay we are not expressly informed. He abode at the hospital five days, and then removed into a lodging which Doña Iñez procured for him, and where he hoped he might enjoy a more perfect seclusion. But, in spite of his desire to remain unknown and disregarded, his appearance in that place caused a great sensation. It was not long before his doings at Monserrato were noised abroad, and the most extravagant reports as to his former wealth and position in

the world were in circulation. But all this he did but turn into an occasion of greater humiliation, endeavouring by his poverty and austerities to render himself despised and bring himself into perfect subjection. Every day he devoutly heard mass and attended vespers and compline. Seven hours he gave to private prayer, and always on his knees. He slept only for a few hours in the night, with no other bed but the bare floor, and a stone or log of wood for his pillow.

The food (a pullet and a bowl of broth, which had been prepared for herself) sent him by Iñez Pascoala he gave away to the sick and poor; eating but once a day, and then only of hard black bread, which he received in alms, together with one glass of water. In fact, during the week he kept a continual and rigorous fast. But on Sundays, after solacing himself with the Bread of Angels, he added to what he called his dinner a glass of wine—if it were offered to him—and some herbs; yet lest even these should prove too great an indulgence to his palate, he mingled with them earth and ashes, as he himself told Laynez. He always went bare-headed and barefooted, and wore next to his skin, under his sackcloth dress, a rough hair-shirt; but not being able even thus to satisfy his thirst for suffering, he afterwards fastened round his waist a heavy iron chain; for which, when he visited the church at Our Lady at Villadordis, distant a mile and a half from Manresa, he would sometimes substitute a girdle, which he had woven for himself of sharp and prickly leaves, still reverently preserved (say his biographers) in the former town.

But his interior mortifications were of a kind still more painful. He sought in all things to contradict his natural tastes and to kill in himself that pride and ambition, and that love of admiration and of display, which had hitherto been dominant in his character. He became the associate of the lowest of the people, adopted their uncouth manners and ways of speaking; as he had hitherto taken a pride in his delicate hands, his well-trimmed beard, and clustering locks, so now his hair was neither cut nor combed, his beard remained unshorn, and the nails of his hands and feet were let to grow to deformity. To such an excess did he carry his ill-usage of himself, that the very beggars looked down on him with dis-

dain, and treated him as one who might be insulted with impunity. The children in the streets called after him, 'Look there at Father Sack!' and pursued him with hootings and laughter.

The time that he did not give to prayer was devoted to the sick in the hospital; especially to those whose disorders or whose tempers rendered them the most revolting. He waited on them, washed them, and performed for them the meanest offices.

And all this he did for the love of God. Not only did he suffer patiently the contempt and ill-usage which he looked for, but such also as came to him against his will, and accompanied with just those provocations which a temper like his must have found it most difficult to brook. There was a man of the place notorious for his libertine life, who from the first had denounced Ignatius as a hypocrite. This man made it his daily practice to follow him about with mockings and grimaces, ridiculing his gait and gestures, and at last closing the pantomime with a torrent of the coarsest abuse; and he against whom all these insults were directed was the gallant gentleman, the fiery and intrepid soldier, so haughty in spirit, and so keenly sensitive, that at a word or a look that seemed to touch him on the point of honour, he would instantly lay his hand upon his sword. One moment (as he afterwards avowed) there was when the tempter had nearly gained an advantage over him. While attending on the sick, he was suddenly seized with an intense feeling of repugnance at the disgusting maladies and habits of those whom he was serving—the rudeness and squalor of all about him; but resolving (as Bartoli expresses it) to conquer at one blow both the tempter who assailed and the nature that betrayed him, he ran into the midst of the poor creatures, embraced them, assisted them, and remained amongst them until he had wholly vanquished his aversion.

He thus passed some four months at Manresa, and he began to look about for some hidden retreat, where he might commune alone with God, and practise his austerities far removed from the eyes of men.

At the distance of about two hundred paces from Manresa, at the foot of those rocky heights which enclosed the deli-

cious valley called by the peasants the Vale of Paradise, and on the further side of the Cardenero, was a cavern known but to few, and visited by none. Opposite this cave, and between it and the high road leading to Manresa, stood a stone cross, before which Ignatius frequently performed his pious stations. It was probably this cross that led him to discover the cave. In shape and aspect it was not unlike an ancient sepulchre, being about twenty feet long and six wide; its elevation at the highest point eight feet, but in its furthest depths much less. On the side which looks towards Monserrato, a little opening in the rock admits a distant view of the church of Our Lady; the entrance was overgrown with briars and bushes, through which Ignatius had to make his way. Here it was, about the time when Luther, at the Diet of Worms, declared before Charles V. his persistence in his hostility to the Church, that his great antagonist, the man raised up by God to stem the tide of heresy and unbelief, took up his abode in darkness and in silence;—here he redoubled his prayers and penances, striking his breast with a flint stone, like another St. Jerome, fasting three or four days continuously, and kneeling or lying all through the night on the earth, with no other covering than his sackcloth dress.

Cave of
Manresa.

Hitherto he had enjoyed great peace of mind and conscience, together with a sense of buoyant exultation which had carried him over all obstacles. All at once, without any transition or perceptible cause, Ignatius was assailed by terrible trials and temptations. One day he was entering the church in which it was his custom to hear mass, in a state of more than ordinary debility, when a voice seemed to say to him, ‘How will you be able to support this for forty years or more?’ For the moment a horrible dread came over him; then recognising the source from which the insidious question had proceeded, he replied, ‘Can you promise me, O wicked one, another single hour of life? And what are forty years of suffering compared with the ages of eternity?’ For the time the enemy fled, but only to renew his assault with greater malignity. Henceforth he was subject to continual and sudden alternations of joy and sadness; sometimes his soul was left in utter gloom and desolation, and then again it was in a glow of happiness and content. So sudden,

yet so complete, were the vicissitudes through which he passed, that, to use his own expression, it was like putting off one garment and putting on another; and, astonished at his own experiences, he said to himself, 'What is this new phase of existence into which I have entered?'

The severities he practised so exhausted his strength, that his life seemed to be prolonged only by a miracle. His youthful comeliness was succeeded by a deathlike pallor; his fasts caused him excruciating pains; frequently he lay senseless; and, on more than one occasion, he was found apparently dying. Once, especially, when praying in the church of Villadordis, he fell into a swoon, in which he remained for several days; and, on coming to himself, his weakness was so great that, even after he had been revived with food, provided for him by some pious women, he was unable to reach the hospital without support. It was now that the tempter took occasion to change the mode of his attacks; he sought to work his ruin by thoughts of pride and self-sufficiency.

Believing himself to be in danger of death, Ignatius commenced a strict examination of his conscience. Satan, hereupon, suggested to him that he might and ought to die with a perfect assurance of his acceptance with God, inasmuch as by his extraordinary austerities he had deserved eternal happiness. Ignatius quickly turned his thoughts upon his sins, and dwelt with compunction on the most humbling recollections of his former life. Still the tempter returned, and continually increased in force; and there were times when the agony of his soul far surpassed in intensity all his bodily sufferings and the dread of approaching death. On the fever abating, he was filled with horror at seeing the precipice down which he had been, as he thought, so nearly falling; and certain noble matrons being present, who, out of charity and the devout interest they took in his recovery, had assisted him in his illness, he entreated them, if ever they beheld him in like extremity, to keep repeating to him, 'Remember, O sinner, all the evil thou hast committed in the sight of God.' But it was not until after a struggle of two years' duration that he succeeded in freeing himself from the toils.

Another and worse trial now awaited him. During the

last months of his sojourn at Manresa he was tormented by scruples of conscience which almost drove him to despair. He began to be assailed with doubts as to the sufficiency of his general confession at Monserrato. In the hopes of recovering his peace of mind, he again examined his conscience rigorously, and made his general confession a second time; but only to entangle himself in a thicker labyrinth of uncertainties. He sought counsel of spiritual persons; and, amongst the number, of a learned priest, who was preacher at the principal church. This good man prescribed a remedy, which only aggravated the disease. He advised Ignatius to write down all the sins he could remember, and, having once confessed them, to banish them from his mind. But in this minute and anxious repetition his scruples did but find fresh material to feed upon; and Ignatius, deeply feeling, not the misery only, but the danger of his state, sometimes thought of begging his confessor to command him, in the name of God, never to refer to the past, and longed for him to do so; but, fearing lest he should be merely following his own suggestions, he refrained from saying a word. His confessor now, of his own accord, bade him accuse himself only of such things as he knew to be clearly and unquestionably wrong. But as Ignatius, in his scrupulosity, regarded even the most innocent actions to be sinful, he was incapable of this very discrimination he was told to exercise.

In this state of mind he found no comfort in prayer or in penance, to which he devoted himself more assiduously than ever. Even Holy Communion, that perennial fountain of peace to pious souls, brought him no relief. On the contrary, it did but increase his mental torments, believing himself, as he did, the enemy of Christ; and more than once it happened that, as he was in the act of receiving, the dreadful thought would dart into his soul that he was communicating to his own destruction.

At length the crisis came. He was now in the Dominican convent at Manresa, the inmates of which had received him with great kindness when he was suffering from one of those paroxysms of illness to which he was subject at this time. One day, when he was more than usually overwhelmed with terrors, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he cried, ‘Come Thou

to my aid, O my God, for I find no help in man or in any creature. Show me whither I shall turn for a remedy in my woe : if it be to follow some wretched dog, I will surely do it.' There came no answer to this burst of agony ; and the tortures he endured increased in their intensity. In the floor of his cell there was a deep opening, close to the spot at which he knelt ; and the tempter whispered to him to cast himself down through it, and so end all his miseries. But the next moment, struck with horror, ' No, never !' he exclaimed—' never will I so offend Thee, Lord.' As he kept repeating these words to himself again and again, he bethought him of what he had read of a certain father of the desert, who, to obtain some favour from Heaven which he had long desired, abstained from food for several days until his prayer was heard. Ignatius resolved to do the same ; and neither to eat nor drink until he had obtained relief, provided only that his life was not endangered. He began his fast on a Sunday, after his usual weekly communion, and he continued it until the following Sunday, intermitting nothing of his accustomed devotions and austerities. Nor would he have desisted even then, had not his confessor, on learning from him what he had done, threatened to refuse him absolution unless he promised immediately to break his fast. Ignatius humbly obeyed ; and for the time he seemed delivered from his scruples. But on the third day afterwards they returned with a fresh accession of strength ; and at the same time he was seized, while engaged in prayer, with a profound disgust for his present manner of life, and felt himself urged to abandon it, along with the great designs he had been contemplating. But it was the fiend's last effort ; the season of trial was past ; God had proved the constancy of His servant by the deepest afflictions which the heart of man can know. The temptations departed as suddenly as they had come ; his noviciate was concluded ; and he who was destined to become one of the most skilful physicians of souls, so gifted that no one afflicted with scruples of conscience ever had recourse to him without finding certain relief, had learned by his own experience the lessons which he was soon to teach to others. He had acquired the faculty of discerning spirits. He had himself

passed through all the states and stages of the spiritual life. He had learned that the sole rule of our will must be the will of God; and then peace or trouble, light or darkness, fervour or desolation—all will be indifferent to us.

Long afterwards, Ignatius wrote to a nun of Barcelona:—

‘God has two methods of instructing us; one He employs Himself, the other He permits. From Himself proceeds the inward consolation which dissipates our troubles and fills our hearts with His love. The intelligence which it brings with it enlightens the mind, and fortifies it by revealing to it wondrous secrets, and showing it the paths that should be followed or avoided in the spiritual life. The fervour it communicates to the soul converts the most painful labours into pleasures, and fatigues into repose; all burdens become light—all austerities attractive. But these consolations are not lasting; they have their times and their seasons, according as it pleases God to grant or to withdraw them; but always for our greater good.

‘When the heavenly light vanishes, the demon introduces disquiet and desolation into our hearts, in order to detach us from the service of God. Frequently we are overwhelmed with melancholy; prayer becomes arid—meditation wearisome. Then come disheartening thoughts about ourselves. We see ourselves as it were repulsed and abandoned by God—separated from Him; and it seems to us that nothing we have hitherto done has pleased Him—nothing we can do in future will profit us. Hence, discouragement, distrust, despair, which represent all our faults as mortal, all our miseries irremediable. But neither is this sad condition lasting; and we ought to use the one to enable us to support the other. So in time of consolation we must humble ourselves, and, when despair overwhelms us, recollect that at the first rays of divine light all that darkness will vanish, and our peace will be restored.’

Thus the trials of his own soul taught Ignatius how to prescribe for others. He possessed in the highest degree the art of healing scruples; and for the help of persons so tormented, he wrote down the following rules:—

1. Many persons think that a scruple is the regarding a thing to be sinful which is not so; as, for instance, that they

had committed sacrilege by walking upon a cross accidentally formed by two straws that lay in their path. This is not so much a scruple as a false judgment.

2. A true scruple would consist in imagining that we had walked upon these straws through contempt of the cross, and then, notwithstanding the secret testimony of conscience, remaining in a state of disquiet and perplexity, which the devil causes and keeps up.

3. Of these two sorts of scruples, we should always hold the first in abhorrence, as a source of error, full of dangers and snares. The second may, during a certain time, redound to the profit of the newly-converted soul; it may tend to render it pure, by withdrawing it from everything which has in it even the shadow of sin; according to these words of St. Gregory—*Bonarum mentium est, ibi culpam agnoscere, ubi culpa non est* (Good people are apt to think themselves in fault where no fault is).

4. The enemy carefully studies the nature of the conscience he attacks, examining whether it is strict and delicate or easy and obtuse. The first he endeavours to contract and intimidate still more, until he shall have reduced it to a state of such intolerable anxiety, that it ends by abandoning itself to despair, and is lost. Thus, when he observes that, far from consenting to the slightest fault, it flies even from the shadow of one, he will make it believe that sin exists when really there is no sin; as, for example, in certain expressions or in sudden and unguarded thoughts. With the obtuse conscience he acts quite differently, and by familiarising it gradually with slight faults, finishes by blinding it to the most grievous sins.

5. He who wishes to advance in the spiritual life, ought to follow the path which is exactly contrary to that towards which the Enemy endeavours to attract him. If his conscience be naturally too lax, he must try to draw it closer; if, on the contrary, it be too contracted, he must labour to expand it. Between those two extremes he may walk in peace and safety.

6. If we contemplate doing or saying anything which is contrary neither to the usages of the Church nor to the order of our superiors, which may contribute to the glory of

God, and yet which is suspicious in our eyes as being tainted with vanity, we must raise our hearts to God; and if in His sight we judge the action to be conducive, or even not contrary, to His glory, we ought to follow our first impulse, saying, like St. Bernard—*Nec propter te cœpi, nec propter te finiam* (It was not for your sake that I began, and you shall not make me leave off).

Ignatius had come to Manresa with a fervent desire of subduing the flesh and mortifying the pride of his natural heart, but (as already stated) with small knowledge as yet of spiritual things. He did not so much as know how to make mental prayer or meditation, nor even what it was. At first, therefore, his seven hours of devotion were passed in vocal prayer; and we incidentally learn, from what he told Gonzales, that his way of assisting at mass was by reading the history of the Passion, as given in the Gospels. When he spoke of this time in after days, he said God had treated him as a skilful teacher treats a child, not giving him much to learn at once, nor allowing him to pass on to a second subject until he has well mastered the first. So great was his inexperience, that when a devout woman, with whom he often conversed on religious subjects, said to him, ‘Oh, that Christ our Lord would appear to you some day,’ he understood her literally, and replied in his perplexity, ‘How could our Lord appear to me?’ And these words were actually fulfilled to him. Certain it is that Ignatius made rapid progress in divine knowledge and became deeply versed in the profoundest mysteries, without the intervention of human aid.

Like the great Apostle of the Gentiles, Ignatius Loyola was favoured with ecstasies and visions; being as it were carried out of himself, and hearing secret and unutterable words. One day, as he was sitting on the banks of the Llobregat, after having spent some time in prayer in the neighbouring church of St. Paul, he was wrapt in spirit and filled with such supernatural light, that in a moment he understood a multitude of things relating to faith and even natural science, of which before he had been perfectly ignorant, and this too with such clearness, that he afterwards said, that if all the communications he had since received from God—and he was then upwards of sixty-two years of age—could

be collected into one, they would not equal the illumination that was granted him in that short rapture.

From this moment, as he told Gonzales, he felt himself in intelligence another man. On coming to himself, he ran and threw himself at the foot of the cross of which mention has been made, to pour out his heart in thankfulness to God, when suddenly there appeared above it a spectacle which^{*} he had frequently beheld before while living in the hospice. It was a sort of luminous spiral trail, resembling the figure of a serpent, spotted with numerous eyes of fire—which yet were not eyes—whence a vivid glare proceeded. Hitherto this vision had always excited while it lasted a certain sensible pleasure in him, because of its brilliancy and beauty, though when it vanished it always left him depressed and sad; but now, seen above the cross, it inspired him only with abhorrence; and, enlightened by the lessons he had received, he knew that it was an illusion of the devil. This phantom showed itself to him on many subsequent occasions, both during his stay at Manresa and on his journeys to Rome and Paris, but always hideous and deformed, and he had only to make a gesture of disdain with his staff to drive it from his sight.

The revelations which Ignatius now received were of the most transcendent character. The sublimest mysteries of faith were communicated to him immediately from God, either by means of a pure spiritual radiance cast upon his soul, or under images of things presented to his mind. Frequently and for long together he was visited in the night by divine consolations and interior lights, so penetrating and engrossing that sleep fled from his eyes. Now, too, he conceived a great and special devotion to the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity. But a still more wondrous grace was accorded to him. One day, when he was reciting the Little Office of Our Lady on the steps of the Dominican church, while waiting for a procession, he was enabled in an instant, as by a supernatural illustration of the intellect, clearly to discover and contemplate the profound mystery itself. When the vision had passed, his soul remained inundated with such an exuberance of joy, that all the time of the procession he was unable to restrain his tears; nor could he cease to speak

of this during the whole day; illustrating and expounding this cardinal verity of the faith, so that all who heard him were filled with admiration and awe.

From this time forth Ignatius was admitted—in such degree as it is possible for a creature to be admitted—into close and intimate communion with the Three Divine Persons; and he recorded in a book the lights he had received on this high subject, so far as they were capable of being expressed in human language; but of these remain only a few fragments, which escaped by some accident the destruction to which he destined all that he had ever written.

On another occasion, as he was standing in that same church, he saw with a most perfect distinctness the whole plan and order observed by God in the creation of the universe; but in a manner and under figures which he was unable afterwards to explain or describe. Again, while hearing mass, he beheld the infant Jesus at the moment of the elevation of the Host, and discovered how the Divine Body of Christ dwells under the consecrated species. But the vision with which he was most often favoured was that of the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord, which showed itself to him under a luminous form; yet, as he told Gonzales, always by an interior perception, and without sensible distinction of the corporeal members, adding that he should speak within bounds if he said that he beheld this vision from twenty to forty times while he was at Manresa. Sometimes also he saw the Blessed Virgin in the same manner.

At the Hospital of St. Lucy he had a chamber from which a window looked into the church. He was assisting at compline one Saturday evening, when he fell into a trance, which lasted till the same day and hour in the following week. During the whole of that time he had all the appearance of a dead man; and it was only by the faintest palpitation of his heart that he was known to be still alive. On returning to himself, he opened his eyes like one awakening from a placid sleep, and murmured, ‘O Jesus, Jesus!’ He then relapsed into silence; nor was he known ever after to utter a word as to what had been revealed to him during those eight days.

But the first members of the Society, who had lived with

him and had heard him speak of the time, have always believed that it was then that God revealed to him what He destined him to do in the service of His Church, and traced for him the plan of the religious order he was to found.

The Saint himself told Everard Mercurian, afterwards General of the Order, that the first sketch of the Society was impressed upon his mind when he began to meditate on the kingdom of Christ; and when he was asked why he had made this or that regulation in his constitutions, his usual answer was, 'I saw it thus at Manresa.' He told Laynez that he had there learned more during one hour's mental prayer than all the doctors in the world could teach him; and he declared that if the Holy Scriptures were no more, and if the Catholic religion were destitute of all other testimony, he should be ready to lay down his life for the faith of the Church, on the sole evidence of what he had then seen and learned.

Notwithstanding these extraordinary favours, Ignatius lost none of his childlike docility, regarding himself as a novice in the spiritual life. He often visited his first friend, the holy monk Chanones, revering him as the father of his soul, and laying bare his inmost heart before him. The aged Benedictine, on his part, while fulfilling the office of a teacher and director to Ignatius, secretly entertained the greatest veneration for his penitent; and would often say to the other monks, that Ignatius Loyola was destined to become a champion of the Church.

By this time also many pious persons had discerned in him the marks of a true sanctity. Thus, it is related by Maffei, that he was seen by one who for some time had watched him narrowly, raised up from the ground, his face shining like that of Moses, by reason of his familiar intercourse with God.

The rigid austerities he practised, and which, in his ignorance and the natural ardour of his character, he carried to an excess which in after years he would not have allowed to others, at last seriously affected his health. After that violent attack of which we have spoken, when he was carried senseless to the hospice, his emaciation was so great that a rich burgess of the town, named Andrés Amigante, had

compassion on him, and conveyed him to his own house. A second illness seized him in the winter; and this time the magistrate took charge of him, and confided him to the care of one Ferreira, directing that his needs should be supplied at the public expense. Here some of the highest ladies in the place watched by his bedside, taking their turn to wait upon him. This illness left him with a great weakness of digestion, which lasted all his life. He seems also to have had several relapses: once while with the Dominicans, when the devout women who ministered to him, not being able to attend upon him in the monastery, caused him to be removed a second time to the house of Amigante. Warned by experience, Ignatius began, towards the end of his sojourn at Manresa, to moderate the rigour of his penances; but he resolutely refrained from eating meat, though on more than one occasion he was seized with an almost uncontrollable desire to yield to the temptation.

All this time, it was not possible in the very nature of things but that the populace generally should be moved by the sight of a man so young, and evidently bred to a far different station, leading so hard and so solitary a life. His very look was enough to rivet attention and excite respect; and thus it came to pass that when he went to pray at the foot of some cross outside the town, the people would follow and observe him at a distance. After a while they began to assemble around his retreat, and then Ignatius was constrained to speak to them; and his words were those of another John the Baptist preaching penance in the wilderness. A rock is still shown in front of the old hospice of St. Lucy, where Ignatius, in his coarse sackcloth gown, with its hempen girdle, his hair disheveled, his head and feet bare, his face pale and haggard, but inflamed with divine love, spoke, like one inspired, of the things of God. But his look, his presence, preached even more powerfully than his words. Many of the most noble ladies in the town surrounded him when he spoke in the open air, treasured up his instructions, and so profited, that they came now regularly to confession and communion on every Sunday; a thing so extraordinary, that people called them 'las Inigas.' His slightest actions had a virtue and a charm in them which few

could resist: when he received alms, he ever accompanied his thanks with some charitable prayer for the soul's welfare of the giver;—men were moved to contrition, they scarcely knew why; they were roused from their state of indifference, and animated by a desire to lead a more strict and holy life. Thus, by degrees, Ignatius gathered about him a circle of disciples, to whom he communicated, in their measure, the impulses which he had himself derived from his prayers, meditations, and spiritual readings, especially of the Holy Scriptures. They felt drawn to him as to a man who walked with God and was the friend of God; and many, it is said, following his example, abandoned the world and entered the religious life.

But among them all Ignatius found none who were capable of co-operating with him in the great project he had conceived; for already it is clear that he had formed the design of drawing to him associates who, modelled after the ideas which he afterwards embodied in the 'Spiritual Exercises,' should accompany him to Palestine, and unite with him in spreading the kingdom of God among the infidels. He said afterwards that he found none, either at Manresa or at Barcelona, who could aid him to advance in the spiritual life, or who seemed to have a knowledge of divine mysteries, with the sole exception of the aged matron who had prayed that our Lord might be made visible to him. Her name we are not told, but it is recorded that her reputation for sanctity and wisdom was so great, that King Ferdinand had been wont to consult her in affairs of conscience.

But though he had produced a striking change for the better among the people of Manresa, his adversaries were all the more enraged against him. From reviling, they passed to defaming him; and those who favoured and assisted him met with no better treatment at their hands. When Amigante received him into his house, these people called him, in derision, Simon the leper, and his wife Martha, because they tended God's servant in his sickness. But none met with greater molestation than Iñez Pascoala, who had brought him to the town, and had always shown him much devotedness; all these things caused Ignatius especial pain. On the one hand, his humility suffered from the veneration

paid him; and, on the other, the reputation of his friends was compromised by the calumnies that were spread abroad. For their sake, therefore, if not for his own, he was desirous of leaving the place. For some time his departure was delayed by the plague at Barcelona, whence he intended to embark for the Holy Land; but learning that the port was again open, he resolved to commence his journey.

One of the friends from whom Ignatius parted with grateful affection was Cavalla, a good priest who had nursed him tenderly during one of his many illnesses. To him he gave, by way of remembrance, the book of the Little Office of Our Lord, which he had constantly used, and which was the only property he possessed.

Before Ignatius left Manresa, the news came that Villiers de l'Isle Adam, abandoned by the Christian potentates, to their eternal disgrace, had been compelled to surrender Rhodes to the Sultan Solyman; and for many years after, till the Battle of Lepanto broke the maritime power of the infidel, the Turks continued to be 'lords of the Mediterranean, and foes to all who sailed upon its waters.' This event was a bad augury for the project of Loyola, and one that was soon realised. Did the old martial ardour revive for a moment in his once fiery breast, and did his hand instinctively seek the hilt of that sword which he had left suspended by Our Lady's altar at Monserrato? or did he not rather press the cross more closely to his heart, and renew again his vow to Him who hung thereon, to do His will bravely in His own sweet and gentle way? Ignatius had in him the very spirit of the true Crusader; the high courage, the enduring hardihood, the generous devotion, the daring zeal, the burning personal love of the Redeemer; but in Him all was sublimated by an interior crucifixion—a deadness alike to the world's glory and the world's contempt; the warfare to which he was summoned was to be waged only with spiritual weapons, and solely for spiritual ends.

Christmas
Day, 1522.

The Church, unlike the world, knows and honours its greatest men. In later times Cardona, Bishop of Vigue, raised a pillar with an inscription, in front of the Hospital of St. Lucy, to commemorate the Saint's sojourn there; and the building itself he gave to the Society of Jesus, having

transferred the sick elsewhere. The chamber where Ignatius remained in his seven days' trance is still shown—the old brick floor on which he lay, covered with boards to preserve it, which are removed when the faithful desire to kiss the holy spot.

From
Manresa
to Barce-
lona, 1523.

Ignatius quitted Manresa in January 1523, after a residence of nearly ten months. He had already (as we have stated) abated something of his rigorous austerities, both for his health's sake—the winter being particularly severe—and because he had learned by experience that excessive mortifications are an impediment in the service of God, no less than of our neighbour. He desired also to avoid the appearance of singularity; and, to this end, had for some time ceased to exhibit that neglect of his person to which he had hitherto submitted from penitential motives. He no longer allowed his hair to grow in disorder; he wore shoes, and exchanged his sackcloth gown and cord for a garb more resembling that of some poor scholar; an upper and under coat of coarse grey cloth, with a sombrero or hat of the same colour. All these he received from some charitable hands, but he would accept no money. His friends would fain have persuaded him to take some companion with him on his travels, if it were only because he could speak neither Latin nor Italian; but he replied, with the energy characteristic of him, that if the Duke of Cordova's own son were to propose to accompany him he would decline the offer; that he was content to have no other society but that of the three virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity; that if he had a companion, he should be ever looking to him in need; and he desired to have no help, or hope, or confidence, save in God alone.

We learn from Juan Pascoal, that his greatly persecuted mother sent for her brother, Antonio Pujol, a priest who resided with the Archbishop of Tarragona, and begged him to conduct Ignatius to Barcelona, and procure lodging for him. On arriving, they found that some days must elapse before he could embark. But Ignatius did not concern himself about the preparation for his voyage, and occupied all the time that remained to him, after his seven hours of prayer,

in visiting the prisoners and the sick. He begged in the streets, and relieved the poor with the alms he collected. He had a great desire to meet with persons who were experimentally acquainted with the mysteries of the spiritual life, and for this purpose visited several hermitages in the neighbourhood; but nowhere could he find the help for which he looked. In what way he should be able to defray the expenses of his voyage he knew not; but God did not forsake His servant. At Barcelona he made the acquaintance of several pious people, whose friendship he long retained. The most remarkable in its beginning, as also the most lasting, and yet the most disappointing in its conclusion, was that he formed with a noble lady of the city, named Isabel Roser. She had wholly retired from the world, and lived only for God and for her husband, who was blind and demanded all her care. It was now the season of Lent, and Ignatius was one day in the cathedral, and seated on the steps of the altar amongst a group of children, listening to a sermon, when Isabel, happening to glance towards him, beheld his head surrounded with a circle of light, and at the same moment heard an inward voice bidding her call him to her. His appearance inspired her with a deep respect, and she felt herself moved to do as the voice admonished her, but hesitated from a fear of being the victim of some illusion. On returning home, she disclosed to her husband what she had seen and heard, and with his approval she sought out Ignatius and brought him to the house; where, under the pretext of performing a simple act of hospitality to a chance wayfarer, they detained him to share their repast. With such a guest the conversation naturally turned to spiritual subjects; and Ignatius, who was ignorant of the motives which had led to his reception, spoke with so much power and with such a knowledge of divine things, that his hearers were filled with admiration, and convinced that the stranger before them was a man of gentle birth and possessed of no ordinary endowments.

Learning that he was bound for Italy, and had already secured a passage in a brigantine that was about to sail, Isabel, having done all in her power to detain him, conjured him at least not to risk his life in so slight a vessel, but to wait for a

ship in which the Bishop of Barcelona, who was a kinsman of her husband's, was intending to embark. This last circumstance probably it was which induced him to defer his departure ; nor was it without a special dispensation of Divine Providence that he did so, for scarcely had the brigantine left the harbour, when it was caught in a violent storm and went down with all on board.

The captain of the ship in which Ignatius was to sail agreed to give him a passage for the love of God ; but on condition that he brought with him the necessary provisions for the voyage. Here, however, a doubt presented itself, whether by taking such precaution he should not be infringing the resolution he had formed of living solely on alms from day to day, trusting only to the good providence of God. In his perplexity he consulted the priest his confessor, who bade him procure what he needed from private charity, and then depart with a quiet conscience. But even thus he would accept nothing from Doña Isabel, who offered to supply his wants, but went through the streets of Barcelona begging of the passers-by, until he collected what was sufficient for his immediate wants.

While thus engaged, he was asked by a certain Señora Cepilla Rocaberti whither he was going. For some moments he stood hesitating what to reply ; because a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in those days was a service of danger, and so redounded to the credit of those who performed it. He answered therefore, as was true, that he was going to Italy and Rome. To which she rejoined, supposing him to be a mere ordinary pilgrim, 'To Rome ! they who go to Rome are apt to return no better for their journey ;' meaning that few made the pilgrimage from a motive of true devotion. This dread of vain-glory it was which most tormented him at this time ; and, to prevent his being surprised into this sin, he studiously concealed his noble birth, and the motives which impelled him to make the pilgrimage. It so happened that the son of this lady had left his home, and taken to a vagrant life. Perceiving by his countenance that Ignatius was not what his dress and habits seemed to indicate, she supposed him to be another idle spendthrift of the same description, and loaded him with reproaches. The Saint ac-

cepted the humiliation with joy, and assured her that there was not in the whole world a man more worthless than himself. And this he did with such an air of genuine sincerity, that the lady at once perceived her error—her anger was turned into admiration, and, begging his forgiveness, she bestowed upon him an abundant alms. Doña Cepilla could never afterwards recount the circumstances of this singular meeting without deep emotion ; and, when Ignatius returned to Barcelona, she placed herself under his spiritual direction, and became one of his most devoted followers.

More than three weeks elapsed before Ignatius left Barcelona. On his way to the ship, finding that he had four or five small coins in his possession, which he was resolved not to keep for his own use, and there being no poor person in sight on whom he could bestow them, he left them on a stone bench near the harbour, that God might dispose of them in such a manner as He pleased. The vessel made a rapid passage, though not without danger, being driven by a strong west wind to Gaeta within five days. Thence he pursued his journey to Rome on foot, in company with three other persons, mendicants or pilgrims like himself—a youth and two women, mother and daughter, the last for greater safety wearing male attire. One night, on arriving at a village, they found a number of people assembled round a large fire, who received them civilly and set food before them.

Leaving
Barcelona.

Ignatius was then lodged with the youth in a stable, while the women were conducted to a chamber overhead. In the middle of the night a loud noise was heard, and women's voices calling for help. Ignatius, hastening upstairs, found the mother and daughter with whom he had travelled exceedingly terrified, calling out that they had been attacked in the night by some ruffian. The household collected round, and Ignatius, lifting up his voice, spoke to them with such indignation, that, though his language was unknown to them, the listeners were abashed, and fell back to let him pass, with the women, with whom he immediately started on his journey. But the young man was missing.

The three made their way in the darkness to a small town near. But they found the gates closed ; so that they were obliged to pass the remainder of the night in a church, the

walls of which were streaming with damp. Neither when morning dawned were they permitted to enter the place; for the plague was still raging in many parts of Italy, and the roads were narrowly watched; add to which, Ignatius, worn as he was by his great austerities, had the look of one already stricken with the pestilence. They were compelled therefore to go on to a neighbouring village, where the pilgrims rested; Ignatius being unable from feebleness to proceed any further, while the two women made the best of their way to Rome. It so happened that, on the same day, the lady to whom the neighbouring lands belonged was on her way to the town from which the Saint had been excluded; and, the inhabitants going out to meet her, Ignatius went with them, and begged permission to pass through the place, assuring her that he was not suffering from disease, but from exhaustion. She readily granted his petition, and, having rested there two days, living meanwhile on the alms he received, he was able to continue his journey.

Rome.

Ignatius reached Rome on Palm Sunday. There he met with some fellow-countrymen, through whose intervention he procured a pilgrim's licence from the reigning pontiff, Adrian VI.; and, after visiting the several churches of the Stations, and other holy places, and receiving the Papal benediction, he set out on the ninth day, still on foot, for Venice. His friends, who had in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from prosecuting his design, representing to him the danger and hardships he must encounter, constrained him at the moment of his departure to accept seven or eight gold crowns, that he might at least possess the means of paying for his passage. But three days had not elapsed before he bitterly reproached himself for his cowardice in distrusting the good providence of God. His first impulse was to throw the money on the roadside, but on reflection he considered that he would be doing better in distributing it among the first poor persons he should meet; and this accordingly he did.

On this journey he was exposed to even greater privations than on the former, owing to the increasing ravages of the plague. People were afraid to receive him into their houses, or to give him so much as a night's lodging; and, on one

occasion in particular, Gonzales relates that, as he was leaving the portico of a house under which he had found shelter for the night, a man, scared by his pale and ghastly appearance, turned and fled from him in terror. The very hand of charity feared to open to so pitiable an object. There were times, however, when travellers like himself allowed him to join them on the way, but even then would often pass on in haste, as the evening began to close, lest they also should be forced to sleep in the open air. On reaching Chioggia, the Saint and his chance companions were informed that they would not be allowed to enter Venice without a certificate of health. They resolved therefore to go to Padua, in order to obtain this necessary document; but Ignatius, unable to keep up with the rest, found himself left at nightfall in an open plain, without shelter and without a guide. But the Saint was not abandoned by Him for whose sweet sake he was suffering all these things. He calmly set himself to pray; and as he prayed the Lord Jesus appeared to him, in that same form in which He had been wont to visit him, and, filling his heart with joy, promised to protect him with a special care. This promise was marvellously fulfilled; for on the morrow he entered Padua, and left it without question or challenge, to the astonishment of his companions, who had rejoined him, and knew that he had obtained no bill of health. But their astonishment was still greater when, on reaching the lagune of Venice, the quarantine officers strictly examined the passports of every other person in the boat, but passed Ignatius by, as though he had been invisible.

It was dusk when Ignatius set foot in Venice, and as he was ignorant of the language, and was acquainted with no one of whom he could ask the way to some hospice where strangers were lodged, he disposed himself to pass the night under the arcade of the Procuratori, in the Piazza of St. Mark. There was at that time in Venice a senator named Marc-Antonio Trevisani, who was not only a learned magistrate, but a most holy man. He led the austere life of a monk; his house was like a public hospital, from the number of poor whom he received and tended with his own hands; indeed, but for his nephews, who charged themselves with the ma-

nagement of his worldly affairs, he would have despoiled himself of everything he possessed in works of charity. Twenty years later his acknowledged virtues, and the eminent services he had rendered the Republic, procured his election to the supreme office of Doge—a dignity he would fain have avoided; but he sacrificed his own preference to the public weal. He lived to a great age, and his death was a fitting termination of such a life. While assisting one day at the Holy Sacrifice, he became motionless, and was found to have calmly expired. On the night of Ignatius' arrival, this good man was awakened by a voice, which said to him: 'What! dost thou sleep comfortably in thy bed, when my poor servant and dear pilgrim lies so near thee stretched on the bare stones?' Rising instantly, full of wonder as to who this special friend of God might be, he went out with servants bearing torches, and found Ignatius, as it had been told him, lying on the pavement; and conducting him to his house, Marc-Antonio entertained him with a respectful charity.

But the next morning, whether with a view to stricter retirement, or that he deemed it unsuitable that a pilgrim should be lodged in a palace, Ignatius left the senator's hospitable roof, preferring to be dependent on such chance aid as God might send him. In like manner, he was not solicitous as to the means by which he might procure a passage to Palestine, although the pilgrims' ship had sailed some days before; nor would he present himself to the Imperial Ambassador; he had no longer any interest (he said) at courts; friends would come when they were wanted; and so it happened. As he was begging in the streets, he was recognised by a rich Biscayan merchant, who asked him whither he was bound, and invited him home to dine. It seems to have been a habit with Ignatius not to refuse hospitality when thus offered; and ever since he left Manresa it had been his wont, as he said himself, to keep silence at table, except when spoken to, and observing what others said, to take the opportunity when the repast was over to direct the conversation to some spiritual subject. The merchant, with his whole family, conceived such an affection for him, that he would have persuaded him to remain with them.

But, failing in this, he offered him clothes and money, which the Saint refused, begging him only to procure him an audience of the Doge, Andrea Gritti, that he might solicit a free passage on board the Admiral's ship, which was about to take out the Lieutenant-Governor to Cyprus. This the Doge readily granted, and Ignatius remained at the merchant's house until it was time to sail.

The pilgrims to Jerusalem this year were very few in number, owing both to the prevalence of the plague, and to the swarms of Turkish cruisers which, after the capture of Rhodes, infested the seas. The pilgrims' ship had sailed with only thirteen on board. All these things were represented to Ignatius, with the hope of deterring him from his purpose; but he simply answered, 'God is my sole support; I would not hesitate to set sail upon a plank.' Shortly before his departure he was seized with a violent fever; and on the very day he was to go on board his illness had reached such a height, that to some who inquired whether he could sail in such a state, the physician replied, 'Yes, if he wishes to die on the passage.' No sooner, however, did Ignatius hear the gun give the signal for weighing anchor, than he hastened down to the harbour with the rest; quitting Venice on the 14th of July, 1523.

After a few days' sea-sickness he revived, and the fever left him. But the evil ways and libertine discourse of many among the passengers, and especially of the crew, filled his soul with sadness; and in his zeal for the Divine Majesty, he never ceased reproving them with a freedom and a severity which excited their implacable resentment. Some Spaniards who were on board warned him of his danger, and urged him to be cautious, as a plot was being formed to put the ship to shore, and leave him on a small uninhabited island which they were about to pass. But Ignatius knew no fear, and cared not for consequences. And the event justified his confidence; for as they were on the point of making the island, a boisterous wind arose, which baffled all the efforts of the sailors, and drove them on with rapidity towards Cyprus. There he learned that the pilgrims' vessel, which had left Venice so many days before, was still lying in the harbour of Salines, ten leagues distant. Thither accordingly

Ignatius proceeded across the island, together with the other pilgrims, eight in number; having with him no other subsistence than, as he himself expressed it, that hope which he ever placed in God. But all this time the Saint had aids which no man knew of. Often when, retired in some corner of the ship, he wept over the outrages offered to God, Jesus would Himself appear to him, bringing him strength and consolation. At Salines, he and his companions embarked on board the other ship, and on the 31st of August, after a voyage in all of forty-eight days, they reached the coast of Syria.

Palestine.

From Jaffa, where they landed, they made the journey to Jerusalem riding on asses; and, when they were within two miles of its walls, they were met by a Spanish gentleman, Diego Nuñez, who devoutly admonished them that, as they were approaching the spot from which they would first obtain a sight of the Holy City, they should set their conscience in order and proceed in silence. This proposal pleased them all well; and, shortly afterwards, perceiving the Franciscan fathers advancing to meet them, preceded by the cross, they dismounted and made the rest of the way on foot; and thus, on the 4th of September, about noonday, in solemn procession, they entered within the gates of that city whose streets had heard the voice of the Eternal Word, and had been trodden by His sacred feet.

**Jerusalem,
1523.**

Ignatius had now attained what had been the chief object of his desires ever since his conversion. From the moment when his eyes first rested from afar on the walls of Jerusalem, he experienced a sensation of unutterable joy; and this fervour of devotion lasted undiminished all the time he dwelt in the Holy City. These several scenes he visited again and again, sometimes alone, and sometimes in company with others; not from a mere sentimental desire of beholding places rendered famous by the stupendous events of gospel story, but from a deep, adoring, personal love of Him who was the actor and sufferer therein—Jesus, the Son of Mary and the Son of God. This it was that made every emotion he experienced a pious aspiration, and every step he took an

act of worship And so we read that when he beheld the place of his Redeemer's agony, and the spots where He was crucified and was buried, all his soul was melted with a sweet sorrow, and he could not cease from pressing tender kisses on the blessed ground, and pouring out his heart in devout thanksgiving.

To Iñez Pascoala he sent an exact and most minute description of all the holy places; and every word was like a spark of celestial fire. This document was long preserved by the Pascoal family, and finally left by them as a precious legacy to the Society of Jesus.

But he had come, not merely to visit the holy places, but to abide in Jerusalem, near the sepulchre of his Lord, and thence to spread the life-giving gospel of His truth. Though it had been revealed to him at Manresa, that he was to found a society destined to win multitudes of souls to the true faith, nothing had been told him as to the place where its members should assemble, and what should be the particular field of their labours. Jerusalem had been his first thought as he lay wounded at Loyola, and Jerusalem was the spot which in his own mind he had fixed upon as the centre from which his spiritual children should go forth to achieve a nobler conquest than that for which the champions of the cross, with all their enthusiasm and all their valour, had combated in vain—the conquest of souls to the obedience of Jesus Christ. The idea even enters as an element into his ‘Spiritual Exercises.’ This, it is clear, was the Saint's design; but it was not according to the will of God. Not the Holy Land, but all lands, were to be given him as his battle-field; and the sphere of his labours was to extend to the very boundaries of the earth. Ignatius, however, made frequent endeavours to return to Palestine; and, to the last days of his life, he had a fixed intention of founding a house of the Society at Jerusalem.

In order to further his object, he had brought with him letters commendatory to the Franciscan fathers, which he delivered at once to the warden of the convent—without, however, disclosing to him any other motive for wishing to remain than that of satisfying his personal devotions; of his ulterior intentions he said nothing. The warden at first

demurred, representing to him the extreme poverty of the convent, which subsisted solely on alms; that, in fact, on that very account they had resolved on sending some of their brethren back to Europe in the company of the pilgrims. Ignatius in return assured him that he would ask nothing of them except that they should hear his confession and give him communion. On these conditions the Father Warden admitted that leave might be given him to remain, but the matter must be left for the determination of the Father Provincial, who was absent at Bethlehem. Ignatius on this considered the question as good as decided in his favour, and in the joy of his heart wrote letters to this effect to his friends at Barcelona.

The very day before that on which the pilgrims were to take their departure, he was sent for by the Provincial, who had returned, and informed him in the presence of the Father Warden that he must leave Jerusalem with the rest. A zeal like his, so ardent, fearless, and defiant of consequences, would never submit to the restrictions imposed by the Moslem authorities; his presence (as they argued truly) would be a constant source of embarrassment and danger; and so they told him, with the utmost kindness, that his design was a good and pious one, but that, after full consideration, they could not, in prudence, allow him to carry it into execution; that his remaining amongst them would be perilous to himself and detrimental to the interests of the community, upon whom devolved the burthen of ransoming out of their scanty means all pilgrims who fell into the hands of the Turks; and that many through their rashness in passing beyond the limits assigned to the Christians, had been reduced to slavery, and even put to death. To this Ignatius replied that he feared neither slavery nor death; and that if it were his lot to be taken captive, he did not wish to be ransomed, modestly adding, that he was firmly resolved to abide by his intention, if he could do so without offending God. 'But you would indeed offend God,' answered the Father Provincial, 'if you persisted in remaining contrary to my will, who have authority from the Holy See to determine who shall be allowed to remain and who not, and even to excommunicate those who refuse to comply.' At the same time he produced the Papal

Bull, at which, however, Ignatius would not look, meekly bowing his head and assuring the Provincial that he believed his word and was ready to obey; that to him the will of his superior was the will of God.

Ere he left the Holy City, Ignatius was to give what the good Franciscans might regard as certain proof that their apprehensions were not groundless. On the Mount of Olives were visible (at that day) what tradition averred to be the footmarks imprinted by our Divine Lord upon the rock at the moment He left the earth to go up into heaven. The holy pilgrim longed once more to venerate these sacred signs; and he wished to do this in secret and alone. To venture beyond the city walls without the protection of a Turkish escort was a work of danger; but Ignatius knew no fear. Withdrawing silently, he succeeded in reaching the summit of the hill unperceived; and, when stopped by the guards who kept the place, he obtained their leave to pass by giving them his penknife. After satisfying his devotion, he crossed over to the neighbouring sanctuary of Bethpage, when it came into his mind that he had not sufficiently observed towards what quarter of the heavens the sacred feet were pointed when last they touched the earth. Returning, therefore, to the spot, he again procured admission by presenting the soldiers with a pair of scissors, probably his only remaining possession, with the exception of the clothes he wore.

Meanwhile his absence had been discovered by the monks; and, as he was descending from the Mount, he was met by one of their Armenian servants, who, angered doubtless by what he deemed an act of ill-timed temerity, loaded him with reproaches—even threatened him with his stick; and, seizing him roughly by the arm, never released his hold until he was safe within the convent walls. But the Saint bore all patiently—even joyfully; for, at the moment that the man laid hand upon him, lifting up his eyes, he beheld the Lord Jesus in the form in which He usually appeared to him, moving on before him in the air, as the disciples might have seen Him when He ascended to His glory.

Ignatius had now spent six weeks in Jerusalem. On the morrow he bade farewell to the land of his predilection, con-
soling himself with the hope of one day returning.

Leaving
Jerusalem.

On reaching Cyprus, Ignatius and his companions found three vessels ready to sail; one Turkish, the other two Venetian. Of the latter, one was large and well equipped; the other was small, old, and damaged. As the winter was approaching, the greater part of the pilgrims preferred the larger vessel, and prayed the captain to give Ignatius a free passage out of compassion for his poverty, assuring him that in so doing he would have a saint on board; to which the man replied with a sneer, that if he were a saint he might walk on the water, as other saints had done. The master of the smaller craft willingly received him for the love of God. At early dawn all three vessels sailed out together, with a favourable wind; but at sunset a violent storm arose, and they parted company. The Turkish vessel foundered 'with man and mouse' in the high sea, and the large and strong-built Venetian struck upon the coast of Cyprus, the passengers and crew escaping only with their lives; but that which conveyed Ignatius, after long struggling with the tempest, safely made the Apulian coast; and, having executed all necessary repairs, and taken in provisions, continued its course to Venice.

It was now the middle of January 1524, the voyage having lasted two months and a half. Ignatius had gone to sea miserably provided; his only clothing being a short thin coat and an open vest of black cloth, very ragged at the shoulders, with breeches of some coarse material, that reached no lower than the knees, leaving his legs quite bare. His sufferings had been great, for the cold was extreme, and there were frequent falls of snow. At Venice he was again kindly received, probably by the merchant who had entertained him the previous summer; but he had no intention of remaining longer than was requisite to recruit himself for a journey, he having resolved on returning to Spain. He had become convinced that it was not the will of God that he should take up his abode at Jerusalem, at least for the present; and during his voyage it had been made equally clear to him that if he would labour successfully for the good of souls, he must prepare himself by the use of ordinary

means. He was reading the eighteenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, where our Lord, during his journey to Jerusalem, foretells to His Apostles His passion and resurrection, and, on coming to the words *Et ipsi nihil horum intellexerunt* (and they understood none of these things), it was strongly impressed upon his mind that if he also would understand, he must be instructed. Hitherto he had entered on his holy enterprise like some valiant cavalier, adventuring impracticable feats of daring; he would now set himself as resolutely to learn the first rudiments of that knowledge which afterwards he might communicate to others — Inigo de Loyola would go to school again. The plan was one which seemed to put him at an indefinite distance from the great object of his aspirations; but what mattered so that the will of God were done? Accordingly, after a few days of necessary repose, Ignatius set out again upon his journey, and, as before, on foot, accepting nothing from his friendly host save a piece of cloth to double over his body, because of the excessive weakness of his stomach, and some fifteen or sixteen giulii¹ for his necessities on the way.

Leaving
Venice.

The whole of Northern Italy was now the theatre of war between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. of France; and Ignatius, thus scantily clothed and provided, was to make his way to Genoa, across the Apennines covered with the snows of winter and through a country overrun by bands of soldiers. Of this perilous journey the few incidents recorded are highly characteristic of the man. At Ferrara, while praying in the cathedral, a beggar asked an alms of him, and he gave him a small coin; another came, and to him he gave a larger coin; and then another, to whom he presented one of his silver pieces. Seeing this, and telling one another, a whole crowd of beggars gathered round him, and Ignatius being as ready to give as they to receive, he was soon left penniless. Then, as more continued to press about him, he begged them to excuse his refusing, for that he had nothing more either for them or for himself. Such munificence in one whose poverty seemed greater than their own, struck them with astonishment, and observing also his deep

Journey.
Ferrara.

¹ A giulio was worth about sixpence.

piety, they assembled at the doors and followed him as he left the church, crying, 'A Saint! A Saint!'

On the way to Genoa Ignatius was advised by some Spanish soldiers, who gave him a kindly welcome, to leave the main road and take another, by which he might avoid the danger of passing through the hostile camp; but, full of confidence in the Divine protection, he pursued his course undaunted. He had not gone far before he was stopped by a Spanish outpost which held the road under the walls of a fortified town. His having traversed the enemy's lines alone made them suspect that he was a spy, and he was conducted to a hut near at hand. Here, after questioning him closely, they stripped him of his clothes, even to his shoes, to see if he had letters or other papers about him; but finding nothing, they dragged him, almost naked, to the commandant of the town. As they led him through the place, the Saint pictured to himself how Jesus, his dear Lord, was ignominiously dragged through the streets of Jerusalem amidst mockery and insult; and his feeling was that of joy at being permitted to bear a part in the sufferings of his Saviour. But then a great fear came over him—what if he should be put to the torture and then hanged as a spy! In order to be taken for a low-bred clown, as well as from a desire to imitate the simplicity of Christ and His Apostles, Ignatius had been wont (as before observed) to practise a certain plainness, and even rudeness, of speech; for instance, using the familiar pronoun in addressing great people. But now, he thought, he would adopt the usual courtesies and resume for this once the language and manners of a Spanish gentleman. Then, recognising the flatteries of self-love, and inspired with a holy indignation at his own cowardly weakness, he said to himself, 'No, I will not call him lord; nor will I bend the knee before him; nor so much as lift my cap from off my head.' Once more the old native pride was quelled within him, and, as he was led into the presence of the commandant, that officer's scrutinising glance detected nothing in the pallid features of the wretched object before him that told of the noble, ardent nature that glowed beneath.

And he thought of One who was dumb, as a lamb before

Taken for
a spy.

Spaniards.

its shearer, and opened not His mouth; who was clad in a fool's coat, and was mocked and set at nought by Herod and his men of war. In this also he would follow his Divine Master: and so, when he was interrogated concerning his name and habitation, he, with downcast eyes, kept silence, or answered briefly and tardily; except that on being asked whether he was a spy, he replied promptly, 'I am not,' because, by acting otherwise, he would have given just cause for being treated with the utmost rigour. This behaviour, which seemed calculated only to provoke ill-usage, became the occasion of his escaping unharmed; for the commandant, looking on him as a simpleton, turned angrily to his soldiers, and said, 'Cannot you tell a fool from a spy? take him and set him free.' Whereupon the men, irritated by their captain's taunts, made themselves amends by beating their prisoner and other brutalities; in all which the Saint did but find a more perfect realisation of the sufferings of his Lord. At length his tormentors let him go; when a subaltern passing by, and seeing him in such sad plight, had compassion on him, and taking him to his lodging, gave him wherewith to break his fast and a shelter for the night.

The following day he pursued his journey without hindrance, until, towards evening, he was descried by two French soldiers from a watch-tower, who took him and brought him before their captain. But here the Saint's thirst for fresh humiliations was to be left unsatisfied; for, on replying to the question whence he came, that he was a Spaniard and a native of Guipuzcoa, to his surprise the officer welcomed him as though he had been a fellow-countryman, saying that he himself came from near those parts, and bade his men treat him as his own guest and take good care of him. Bayard was at this time with the French army, and his generous temper may have imparted a congenial liberality to those among whom Ignatius had now fallen; he experienced greater kindness from foes and strangers than from his own compatriots and friends.

At last he succeeded in reaching Genoa, where he was recognised by Don Rodrigo Portundo, native of Biscay, with whom he had been acquainted at the court of King Ferdinand.

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Here, all around, were the signs and equipments of war, which in former days would have stirred his spirit to its inmost depths, but which he now regarded with indifference. To the last risks and perils seemed to be his portion, for the flotilla was chased and closely pressed by the famous Andrea Doria, who at this time was in the service of the French; and it was not without difficulty that the vessel which bore Ignatius got safely into the harbour of Barcelona, at the end of February or the beginning of March.

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Difficulties.

Studies.

but a snare of the Evil One: Satan is transformed into an angel of light.' He had detected the nature of the hindrance, and its source; and he resolved to free himself, as saints have been wont to do, by a decisive act of self-humiliation. Accordingly, after giving himself to prayer, he requested Ardebalo to accompany him to the neighbouring Church of Santa Maria de la Mar (Our Lady of the Sea), and there, seating himself by his side, he confided to him the distractions from which he had suffered, and to which, as he alleged, he had culpably yielded, humbly beseeching his master's forgiveness for his negligence, and promising to spend two full years with him in study, if only he could get bread to eat and water to drink; then, casting himself at his feet, he begged him, if ever he should find him guilty of similar inattention, to chastise him as he would any other of his scholars, in the presence of the rest; and the enemy of his soul, confounded by his great humility, molested him no more.

Letter for students.

The experience he thus gained furnished him with those practical rules which he afterwards prescribed to his followers, relative to prayer and study. In a letter, which he wrote when General of the Society, he thus expresses himself:—

'We must not be surprised if our studies, however holy their object may be, do not always yield that sensible relish we would have them do: for He to whom alone it belongs to accord this grace, grants it to whom He wills, and as He judges fitting; and when we have it not, we must consider that, whereas study is commonly very fatiguing to the mind, Divine Providence is pleased to deprive us of these sensible consolations; because, even while they afford great joy to the soul, they weary and exhaust the physical powers. Moreover, the study of speculative sciences is apt to blunt the sentiment of piety and dry up the heart. Nevertheless, when it is pursued for the sole end of serving God, study is itself an excellent work of piety. Provided only that the foundations of virtue sustain no damage, and we devote the time prescribed by the Constitutions to prayer, sensible consolations are of little moment; we must not distress ourselves, but receive with contentment from God's hand whatever He is pleased to send us, looking only to that which is the principal matter, viz. patience, humility, obedience, and love.'

It was at Barcelona that Ignatius was advised to read Erasmus' book, 'De Milite Christiano,' for the sake of its pure Latinity, and the religious maxims it contained. As his confessor also approved of his doing so, he complied; but finding that, as often as he began to read, the fire of devotion was quenched within him, he first sought counsel of God, and then threw the book aside. Nor would he ever permit the works of that author to be read by any of the Society, except the older and more solid fathers; not that he deemed all the writings of Erasmus to be tainted with heresy, but he feared lest the sarcastic pleasantries with which they abound should induce an unhealthy tone of mind, and so tend to injure piety and chill devotion.

Erasmus
disap-
proved.

On the other hand, the 'Following of Christ,' attributed to Thomas à-Kempis, was his constant companion; it was the book he always strongly recommended to others; and, such was the fidelity with which he formed himself upon its model, that he seemed (says Ribadeneira) to be the living exemplification of its golden rules.

From this time Ignatius made rapid progress in his studies, without, however, abating anything of his devotions and penitential practices. Since his return to Spain that weakness of stomach from which he had suffered so much had left him, and he was able to resume many of his former austerities. Yielding to the suggestions of Doña Iñez, he was now neatly clad, putting on a black dress which had something of a clerical look about it; but under it he wore a rough hair-shirt. He did not discard his shoes, but cut away the soles, by which contrivance he was able to walk barefoot without attracting notice. He refused to share the table of his kind hostess, but begged his daily bread on his way to and from the school. Whatever, whether of money or of victuals he received beyond his few necessities, he distributed among the poor, always reserving for them the daintiest portions. On her once affectionately remonstrating with him for this, he replied, 'Ah! Señora, suppose our Lord asked an alms of you, would you have the heart to keep the best for yourself?' He beat himself several times a day, and slept always on the bare ground; great part of the time due to sleep he passed in prayer. Juan secretly watched

him through a chink in the door. Ignatius, he said, after gazing for a while fixedly towards heaven, would then begin his prayers, sometimes prostrate on the ground in an attitude of the most profound adoration, sometimes with his arms extended in the form of a cross; more than once (as Juan afterwards deposed on oath) the chamber was filled with a dazzling splendour, which seemed to radiate from the Saint himself, and as he prayed, he was lifted up more than two feet into the air; when, in a broken voice, he would murmur, 'O Lord, if men did but know Thee!' and again, 'Ah, my God, how infinitely good Thou art to bear with a miserable sinner such as I am!' So impressed was Pascoal with all he saw and heard, that as long as he lived he could not speak of it without emotion. During these ecstasies, he said Ignatius remained insensible to all external impressions; and it was only by his breathing that he gave token of being alive.¹

Ignatius visited all the churches of the town, but most of all that of Santa Maria de la Mar, where he usually heard mass and communicated. He attended vespers at the cathedral and compline in the chapel of St. Eulalia, to whom he had a special devotion. The church of St. Geronimo is rendered famous by an ecstasy which befel him there, and which the nuns of the adjoining convent witnessed. After praying two or three hours before the altar of St. Matthew, motionless as a marble statue, they saw him rise from the ground, his knees still bent, and his face shining like one of the blessed. Ignatius appears to have had some relations with these religious, for to Antonia Strada, who was one of them, he afterwards sent (probably from Paris) a reliquary containing a little earth and small pebble which he had brought from the Holy Land. On it was written in the Saint's own hand, 'Prenez-en gré.' In the year 1800, this reliquary was still preserved on the high altar of the church.

As at Manresa so at Barcelona, Ignatius had many friends. The love of God which burned in his heart showed itself not

¹ The house where Ignatius lived with the Pascoals, in Barcelona, was in the Cottoners' Street, the last on the left hand, at the corner, on the side towards the sea. He had a little room at the top of the staircase, in the middle of that floor.

only in his charity to the poor, but in the deep personal interest he took in the spiritual welfare of all with whom he came in contact. Many remarkable conversions were effected by him, and the fame of his sanctity became so great that many of the principal people of the place sought him out, both to render him such assistance as he would accept, and to profit by his advice and conversation. Among these are mentioned the names of Stephana de Requesius, Isabel de Badajos, Guioñar Gralla,¹ and Isabel de Sosa, all of whom were members of distinguished families. But for himself he affected most the society of those who were always with him—his hostess, Iñez Pascoala, and her son Juan, now eighteen years old. With them it was his practice to converse every night on the things of God.² Juan has himself gratefully recorded with what simple earnestness the Saint on these occasions counselled him to be diligent in frequenting the sacraments, to fear and love God's holy law, and obey his mother. 'Ah! if you had known'—he would often say to his children in after days—'if you had known that guest of ours, so holy and so gentle, you would never tire of kissing the ground his feet have touched and the walls that held him;' and then, weeping and striking his breast, he would bitterly lament that he had profited so little by the conversation of so great a saint.

On the other hand, as at Manresa, the piety of Ignatius provoked the scorn and hatred of the ill-disposed. Certain persons, having discovered that he was of gentle birth, began to ridicule and insult him as he passed, saying that no doubt he was some hypocritical knave who had disgraced himself and his family; and, little knowing the nature of the man, thought to intimidate him by threats of violence. The Saint stopped, listened in silence to their abuse, then with a placid countenance thanked them as sincerely as if they had done him a real favour—which, indeed, they had: for surely meekness will better inherit the promised blessing if it be reviled and wrongfully accused.

¹ The Grallas he had probably known in the Court of Ferdinand.

² Juan was apt to be somewhat stubborn and disobedient to his mother, after the fashion of boys of eighteen, and this was a frequent subject of Ignatius' exhortations at these times.

The Pascoal family seem to have been rich tradespeople of the place; and among the Saint's foes were some young men who worked in the house. Iñez, in her indignation, would have at once dismissed the offenders, but for the entreaties of Ignatius, who protested that they could not say worse things of him than he deserved, and anyhow they did but afford him an occasion of practising Christian patience. This forbearance and tenderness so touched their hearts, that they soon ceased their railleries, and he had the happiness ere long of winning many of them to God.

Convent
of the
Angels.

Outside the walls of the town, between the Porta Nueva and the Porta San Daniél, was a Dominican nunnery, called the Convent of the Angels, but which might then be rather styled the abode of demons; for of conventual discipline there remained not a vestige. Enclosure there was none; young men of bad repute frequented the house at all hours; in short, laxity had grown into licentiousness, and these nuns had ceased to be religious except in name. All this was a matter of notoriety at Barcelona, and Ignatius resolved, happen what would, to effect a reformation. He set about the work as only saints know how. He went daily to their church, and spent whole hours before the tabernacle praying to God for their conversion. After a while the nuns began to notice him; one told another, and they stood in a group together behind the lattice, and watched him unperceived. The length of his prayers, the fervour that glowed in his countenance, the tears he shed, excited their curiosity; they began to feel a strange interest about him. Who was this extraordinary person? and why did he come there day after day? They were told that he was accounted in the city as a saint. Such visitors were rare at the Convent of the Angels; they wished to see him and converse with him; such an event would be a novelty and an amusement, if nothing more. But, vain and wicked as they were, they had still a conscience and Catholic instincts; and when Ignatius stood before them, there was that in his eyes which told them that his soul was the living temple of the Spirit of God. Then the Saint broke silence—not in terms of railing, but in accents which bespoke

the anguish that wrung his heart. He set before them the duties and the excellency of their religious profession, the pain they were bringing on themselves by the life they were leading, the scandal of it, and the vengeance which would surely come upon them from the outraged majesty of God. Then he expounded to them the great truths of the Christian faith, the end of man—especially of such as, like themselves, had renounced the world; and he taught them how to practise meditation on these things, and on the life and sufferings of their Lord. These exhortations he renewed from time to time, until they not only returned to the strict observance of their conventual rule, but were confirmed in the true religious spirit of their order.

Meanwhile the men who had been the occasion of these disorders were irritated to fury at finding themselves excluded from the convent, and twice they attacked Ignatius on the road; but, seeing that neither threats nor blows could turn him from his purpose, and that the nuns, supported by his counsels, persisted in their good resolves, they determined to have recourse to a more effectual method. One day that he was returning from the convent, in company with the good priest Antonio Pujol, who had assisted him all through his pious labours, he was waylaid by two Moorish slaves, near the Porta San Daniél. These ruffians fell upon the two defenceless men with such ferocity, that Pujol was nearly killed, and Ignatius was left senseless on the ground. As he lay thus, a miller happening to pass by, took pity on him, and, setting him on his mule, carried him to Iñez Pascoala's house. For thirty days Ignatius lay between life and death, his body one mass of wounds and bruises, so that he could only be moved in bed by lifting the sheet under him, and even this occasioned him the acutest suffering. Notwithstanding which, he would not allow his hair-shirt to be taken off him, until his confessor, Father Diego de Alcantara, a Franciscan friar, bade him, in virtue of holy obedience, to submit. While he remained in this precarious state, he received constant visits from persons of the highest rank in Barcelona, to whose condolences he replied that great indeed would be his happiness if it were permitted him to die for the sake of Christ; nor would he furnish any information

Attack.

by which his assailants might be identified and punished, praying God to pardon them and bring them to repentance. But there were other and dearer friends, whose anxiety and affliction knew no bounds ; his beloved poor, who came in crowds to see him, gathering even about his bed, and on their knees beseeching Heaven to spare the life of one who had been to them as a father. Their prayers were heard. On the thirtieth day, there being no longer any hope of his recovery, Ignatius received the last sacraments ; but from that time he began to mend. Three weeks later he was declared to be out of danger, and soon afterwards he left his bed.

As soon as he could walk, he expressed his intention of going again to the Convent of the Angels. Iñez, who felt for him all the affection of a mother, conjured him, even with tears, not to venture where certain death awaited him ; but all to no purpose, for Ignatius replied that he desired nothing so much as to give his life for God and the good of souls. No harm, however, befel him ; on the contrary, his self-devotion was rewarded by a signal triumph of grace. For one day, as he left the convent, he was met by a merchant named Ribeira, who, kneeling before him, confessed himself the principal author of the outrage, and entreated his forgiveness, at the same time solemnly promising to amend his life, a promise which he is said to have faithfully kept. He declared that he had been touched less by horror of his crime than by his sense of the patience and charitable forbearance which the Saint had shown ; assuring him, however, that he had never intended to take his life, but merely to deter him from continuing his efforts for the reformation of the nuns.

It was about this time that an event occurred which, though it may not have been properly miraculous, was considered sufficiently remarkable to form the subject subsequently of a judicial enquiry. Ignatius was returning from the Convent of the Angels, and was passing through the street¹ De la Boria, which leads from the Plaza del Oli towards the sea, when his attention was attracted by loud cries proceeding from one of the houses, about which a crowd of people had gathered. Hastening to the spot, he found

¹ Genelli calls it the street Belloc.

that a certain Lisano had hanged himself from a beam, in a fit of vexation and despair, at having lost a lawsuit that he had long carried on against his brother. The wretched man had been cut down, and lay stretched on a bed, without any signs of life. All possible restoratives were used by the persons present, when Ignatius, seeing that their efforts were useless, knelt down at a little distance, and made earnest supplication to God for the salvation of his soul. Others also did the same; then, rising, he pronounced over him the name of Jesus; when, on a sudden, to the surprise of all, Lisano returned to consciousness, gave some signs of sorrow for the crime he had committed, and in a few moments expired. It was the common opinion at the time, confirmed by a formal process many years afterwards, that at the prayers of His servant God was pleased to allow the unhappy man to return to life, that he might have time to make an act of contrition for his sin ere he went to judgment. But all that is certain is, that the bishop, having learned all the circumstances of the case, gave permission to have him buried in consecrated ground.

Revival
of the
suicide.

By this time the character of Ignatius had come to be well known in Barcelona, and his sanctity recognised. He had begun to have not only friends, but disciples, among the young men of the place, who looked up to him as their spiritual guide. Even while at Manresa, he had sought some to whom he could communicate his ideas, and who would bear a part in the great work to which he had dedicated his life, but had found none. Many now offered themselves as his companions, from whom he chose three, and even these did not persevere. Their names were Calisto, Artiaga, and Diego de Cazares, the last of whom was attached to the court of the Viceroy of Catalonia. Calisto had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, by the advice of the Saint, with a view, probably, of testing his constancy. He is mentioned in a letter to Iñez Pascoala, then absent from Barcelona—the earliest of Ignatius's correspondence that remains:—

His three
first com-
panions.

To my sister in Christ our Lord, Pascoala.

I have thought I ought to write to you, on account of the desire I know you have to serve our Lord; as also I believe you to be cast

Letter to
Iñez Pas-
coala.

down by the absence of that holy maiden whom it has pleased the Lord to take, and on account of the many enemies and troubles which in the Lord's service you are subject to here, as well as that enemy of mankind who never ceases his temptations. For the love of God our Lord be ever striving to press forward, flying all hindrances; for, if you fly them carefully, temptation will not be able to have any force against you; the which you must always do, preferring before all things the glory of the Lord; and so much the more that the Lord does not ask of you things which, from their laboriousness, could be hurtful to you, but rather that you should find joy in Him, and give the body that which it needs. Let your talking, thinking, and conversation be in Him; and as to the things of the body, in order to the same end, always preferring the commandments of God above all things: for that is what He wills and desires of us. Whoever considers the thing well, will find that there is more trouble and pain in this life (here four or five words are illegible).

There is in this place a pilgrim called Calisto, with whom I much wished to confer about your affairs; for, in truth, it may be that you would find in him more than appears. And also, for the love of our Lord, let us do our utmost, seeing we owe Him so much, and the more encourage each other in receiving His gifts as He willingly bestows them on us. May it please Our Lady to intercede for us sinners with her Son, our Lord, and obtain for us grace in our weary round of labour, wherewithal our weak and troubled souls may become strong and joyful to His glory.

Barcelona, Feast of St. Nicholas (Dec. 6th).

The
country-
man's
prayer.

We may here introduce a simple story, which is referred by the narrator to the time when Ignatius was residing at Barcelona. He and his companions were returning home, probably from some pilgrimage they had been making, when they were overtaken by a stout peasant, with whom, as usual, they entered into conversation. Observing their wan faces and bare feet, and especially the halting gait of Ignatius, the man offered to carry their sacks for them. They refused for some time, but at last acceded. On coming to a resting-place at night, he observed how they each sought out a corner where they could kneel down and pray; upon which he put himself upon his knees as they did. They afterwards asked him what prayers he said. 'Only this,' he answered: 'Lord, these are good and holy men, and I am but their baggage-mule; what they do, I desire to do also. And this,'

he added, 'is all I can offer to God.' The Carthusian, who has related this in a treatise he wrote on Spiritual Communion, remarks that the peasant profited so much by the lights thus obtained, that he afterwards reached a high degree of spirituality, and of perfection in mental prayer.

In the choice of his three associates, Ignatius seems to have been left to the exercise of a merely human judgment; but in respect to one of those whom he would not receive, there is proof that he was supernaturally enlightened. He was a young Catalonian, a native of Gerona, named Miguél Rodis, who, moved by the Saint's exhortations and example, ardently desired to be one of his companions. But Ignatius answered him in these words:—'You will not follow me; but one day a son of yours will enter the religious order which, by God's grace, I shall found.' This prediction was uttered very soon after the Saint's return from Jerusalem, and therefore sixteen or seventeen years before the foundation of the Society: and it was exactly fulfilled. Miguél Rodis became an eminent lawyer, and married; and his youngest son, Miguél, was afterwards a Jesuit. On his communicating to his father his desire to enter the Society, he was for the first time informed of the Saint's prediction; and both rejoiced at its near fulfilment. But the Provincial delaying to answer the request for admission longer than suited the youth, he changed his mind, and resolved to become a Carthusian monk. Twice the day was fixed for his entrance, and twice an unforeseen accident prevented it. Upon this, he returned to his first intention, became a member of the Society, and persevered in it to old age, distinguished for his religious virtues, his zeal for souls, and great austerity of life.

Miguél
Rodis.

The other whom Ignatius would not receive was that same Juan Pascoal of whom frequent mention has been made. He had wished to follow Ignatius even before he went to the Holy Land, but the Saint told him that it was God's will he should remain in the world, and, at the same time (as Juan afterwards deposed) disclosed to him the future course of his life, and all that he would have to undergo. 'You will marry,' he said, 'a woman of great virtue, and will have many sons and daughters; and on their account will have many sorrows and misfortunes, which will be sent you by

Juan
Pascoal
rejected.

God out of love for you, and for remission of your sins.' He added that Juan would be reduced to great poverty. All which actually fell out as the Saint had foretold. Juan's eldest son was born deaf and dumb; the second at the age of twenty-two became insane; the third led a dissolute life, and one day fell down dead before his father's eyes. Of his four daughters, three who were willing to marry wanted portions. Towards the end of his life he was loaded with debts, and reduced almost to beggary. But the Saint had provided him with a balm for all these distresses, by assuring him that, by the grace of God, they would be for his spiritual advancement; and, as long as he lived, he did not fail to console his poor friend by his affectionate letters.

And now Ignatius had spent two years at Barcelona, in the opinion of Ardebalo and others he had made such progress as to be fit to pass on to higher studies. But, willing neither to trust his own competency nor to dispute the judgment of others, he preferred being formally examined by an able and learned theologian, on whose approval he resolved to remove to the University of Alcalá, lately founded by Cardinal Ximenes, where he would attend the lectures of the most eminent professors, and avail himself of the admirable system of instruction there. Another motive probably was his poverty; the Cardinal having provided liberally for the education of poor scholars. Such numbers, indeed, availed themselves of this munificence, so worthy of a prince of the Church, that, on Francis I. spending three days at Alcalá, when still a prisoner in the hands of Charles V., 7,000 students went out to meet him. On which the royal captive observed, 'Only a line of kings could have done in France what has been accomplished here by a single Spanish monk.'

So lasting was the impression left by the Saint in Barcelona, that when, fifteen years afterwards, his nephew, Antonio Araoz, then a novice of the Society, came to the place, his arrival was no sooner known, than the house in which he lodged was besieged by persons desirous of hearing tidings of Ignatius. Many wished to join the new foundation, and

many more offered money for establishing a house at Barcelona; nor were they satisfied until Araoz had given them some rules of holy living, which they received as if they had come from the mouth of the Saint himself.

Ignatius arrived at Alcalá at the beginning of August, but finding that the schools would not be opened till after St. Luke's day, October 18, he passed the interval in devotion and works of charity. As before, he lived solely on alms; and the first person he accosted was Martin de Olave, then a student of the University, but who, twenty-six years afterwards, when he was attending the Council of Trent, as a learned doctor of theology, was called to exchange the pursuit of worldly honours for that of evangelical perfection in the Society of Jesus. Ignatius, instead of occupying a room in college, like other students, lodged at first in the old hospital of the city; there, while attending on the sick, he was able to render essential service to a young Frenchman, a page of Don Martin of Cordova, the Viceroy of Navarre. Jean, as this young man was called, had been wounded in a fray, and left behind in the hospital until he should be sufficiently recovered to rejoin his patron. But the Saint's charity, his holy conversation, and, still more, the silent and unconscious influence of his personal character, so wrought upon Jean, that he resolved to quit the world, and became the Saint's fourth companion.

Ignatius had not been more than twelve days at Alcalá before he had to encounter, as usual, the contempt and ill-usage of those who did not comprehend the motives of his conduct, but regarded him simply as an ingenious beggar, who, by a show of piety, added to a specious air of refinement, sought to impose on the credulity of the benevolent. One day that he was going out of the hospital in quest of alms, a set of people got about him and began to insult and make sport of him, having at their head an unworthy priest with senses so blunted that he could not discern the living image of his Lord. Ignatius bore all with a most courageous meekness; but the warden of the Hospital of Antecana, who chanced to be a witness of the scene, struck with admiration

1526.

Olave.

The
French
page,
Jean.Hospital
of Ante-
cana.

The
haunted
room.

at the Saint's patience, and indignant at the way in which he was treated, took him to his own asylum. Here, whether the warden left the matter to others, or that he wished to test the sanctity of his guest, he was given a room which had long had the reputation of being haunted. On the first night he was disturbed by a most fearful din, which, as he had received no warning, filled him with alarm; but, presently taking courage, he made an offering of himself to God, to suffer whatever He might be pleased to permit the malice of Satan to inflict upon him; and from that moment the noises ceased, nor were they ever heard again.

The Do
Guia.

His three companions, when they joined him from Barcelona, were lodged at the house of a printer, named Esteban de Guia, whose brother Diego was among the first who made the acquaintance of Ignatius on his coming to Alcalá. He was afterwards a distinguished member of the Society. Being a man of great liberality, Ignatius had frequent recourse to him in assisting the poor and needy; and one day, when he had no money to give, Diego opened a closet and bade the Saint help himself freely to whatever he pleased. Whereupon Ignatius took out some coverlids, candlesticks, and other things, and, wrapping them up in a sheet, carried them away on his back, and sold them for the benefit of the poor. For his director, Ignatius chose Emmanuel Miona, who also subsequently joined the Society. It would seem that the three from Barcelona did not remain long at the printer's house, for Bartoli says that two of the Saint's companions (now four in number) were lodged, out of charity, by Hernando de Para and two by Andrés de Arce. All the members of this little society were dependent entirely on private bounty; they were poor, and the servants of the poor, and they all wore the same dress—a loose tunic of coarse grey serge, reaching down to their feet, with a cap of the same colour. The people called them 'Los ensacados,' or the men in sacks. Some double meaning may here be intended, for Gonzales afterwards says that Ignatius was warned that he and his companions would be denounced to the Inquisition as '*sagati*,' which the Bollandists interpret by '*incantati, fascinati, aut quid sinile*.'

Miona.

They all went barefoot. Whatever he received over and

above his own necessities, Ignatius expended in relieving those who were in want, especially such as had seen better days, and, from bashfulness or infirmity, were prevented asking alms for themselves. But, though he willingly exposed himself to the shame of begging in public streets, he desired, as much as possible, to do good in secret, as this instance shows. Martin Saez, a rich merchant of Azpeytia, who had come to Alcalá on business, had a great desire to see Ignatius, whom he had known in times past at Loyola, and now heard everywhere spoken of for his great piety and charity. Accordingly, he watched for him as he came out of the schools, and, following him unobserved, saw him go into a cottage, and, after a while, come out again. Curious to know the object of his visit, Saez went in himself, and found a poor woman lying sick in bed. He asked her who the student was that had just gone out. She replied she did not know; only he seemed to be a saint, for he came there every day to see and relieve her, and comfort her with pious words. ‘Well,’ said he, ‘when he comes to-morrow, tell him you know some one who, if he wants anything for himself or any other, will gladly supply it.’ The woman did as she was told; but Ignatius, finding that he had been recognised—a thing he took all pains to avoid—said to her, ‘My sister, hitherto I have taken care of you, but for the future God will provide for you in some other way, and to Him I heartily commend you.’ With these words he left her and never returned.

As yet we have said nothing of his progress in the schools, but the story is soon told. With a view of shortening his course, he went through everything at one and the same time: the logic of Soto, the physics of Albertus Magnus, the theology of Peter Lombard, and all the several commentaries thereon, as given in the lecture-rooms. The consequence was, that what with the multiplicity of subjects, and his want of order and method, together with his natural impatience, he made very little progress. Meanwhile his zeal was occupying itself in other and more congenial ways—not in corporeal works of mercy only, but in spiritual works also; and that to a far greater extent. He applied himself, with all his characteristic energy, to the instruction, conversion, and sanctification of souls, not only in private but in public: he

taught Christian doctrine in the streets to children and the poor, or, rather, to all who chose to listen; he held spiritual conferences after the manner indicated in the 'Exercises,' and afterwards developed with such marvellous effects by himself and by his followers; and this he did both in the hospitals and in the schools. He conversed familiarly with the students, especially with those who were leading a careless or a dissolute life, or who, through their superior abilities or address, had most influence with the rest; adapting himself to their several characters and dispositions, and striving to win their confidence, that so he might reclaim them from their evil ways, and lead them gently on to higher works of Christian excellence. Few particulars have been recorded, but the general fact is certain that extraordinary results followed, not from any force of natural eloquence, which, if Ignatius possessed, he had not yet cultivated, but from the deep conviction with which he spoke; his zeal for God, and his tender love of souls, of each and every individual soul, which softened while it warmed the hearts of those who heard him. In all which he began to manifest that twofold characteristic which so eminently distinguished him both as a teacher and as an administrator. For while, on the one hand, he disdained all human considerations, and abandoned himself entirely to the operations of Divine grace, on the other, he availed himself of all human means to procure an access for that grace into the minds of men and bring them to the obedience of the truth. This spiritual sagacity grew and deepened in him the more he advanced in perfection; and he bequeathed it as a heritage to the Institute he founded, which in its conduct, as in its teaching, has ever known how to unite, as it were, the forces of earth and heaven; and, while giving free course to the inspirations of grace, to exercise and utilise all the energies of the human intellect.

Ignatius was become a meek man and a humble one: he bore the grossest personal insults with an heroic patience; no provocations seemed to ruffle even his external serenity. But there was one thing he would not brook—scandalous sin; and one thing he deeply resented—an affront to God. Where the honour of his Lord was concerned, he was bold

even to audacity—albeit an audacity tempered with a holy modesty. An instance of this is recorded of him while at Alcalá. By a lamentable abuse, frequent at the time, but condemned afterwards by the Council of Trent, young men of family were allowed to hold ecclesiastical benefices, although they were not in holy orders, and performed no official duties. Such a personage there was now at Alcalá, titularly a prebendary of one of the cathedrals, but in fact a gay young libertine, or, in modern phrase, a ‘fast man’ of the University, but a gentleman to boot, whose position, profusion, and popular manners, made him the head of his set and the very pest of the place.

The libertine prebend.

It is easy to conceive how Ignatius’s righteous soul was vexed by this twofold scandal to religion and to morals. After imploring God’s light and grace, he resolved to attempt this youth’s conversion. Going, therefore, to his lodging, he asked an audience. The young man had heard enough of Ignatius to be aware that he would be a troublesome acquaintance. But the next moment, bethinking himself that he must be come merely for the purpose of soliciting alms, he desired him to be admitted, and received him with a haughty politeness, which, while it barely veiled the contempt he made no endeavour to conceal, left no opening, as he thought, for any infringement of the ordinary rules of social etiquette which his strange visitor might be meditating. Ignatius, nothing disconcerted, begged leave to speak to him in private on a business of importance, and the young man, with an air of surprise, ordered his attendants to withdraw. And now, left alone with the young offender, Ignatius went straight to the point; he told him what was everywhere said of him, and of what his flatterers had kept him in ignorance, the injury he was doing his reputation, his profession, the souls of others, and his own. For a moment the young ecclesiastic was silenced by the suddenness of the reproof, and then he burst out in a very tempest of fury; with language contemptuous and violent, he bade him hold his peace and be gone: if he spoke another word he would have him thrown out of window. Ignatius listened to his ravings, and dealt with him as a kind and experienced physician might deal with a maniac. There

was in him a total abandonment of self, and a loving tenderness, infinitely more soothing, more subduing, than any merely natural compassion or affection, for it had its well-spring deep in the heart of God. The young man felt himself moved: he had never been so addressed before; it was a new experience. The incidents of the contest we shall never know till the Great Day of Revelation; but when the servants, who had gathered round the door upon hearing their master's voice raised loud in tones of anger, were summoned to his presence, they could scarcely credit the evidence of their senses. They found the proud young noble addressing the lowly student with every manifestation of unfeigned respect; then, turning to them, he bade them set a cover for his visitor, for he would honour him with his company at dinner that day. Ignatius consented, in order that he might the more effectually finish the work he had begun; but two things he would not do: he would not mount the mule that stood ready caparisoned for him when it was time to take his leave; and he would not let himself be escorted home by servants bearing lighted torches before him, as was the custom with great persons in that day. The young man ever after loved and revered him as a father; and was able, by means of his high position, to be a powerful protector of the Saint and of his Order; and the Saint, in his turn, ever regarded him with a peculiar affection.

Conquests like this brought others in their train. The Hospital of Antequana became a school of spiritual training, almost as numerous attended as that at which the Humanities were taught. Persons of all ranks resorted to Ignatius for counsel and direction; students suddenly changed their mode of life, and took to pious practices. All Alcalá was in commotion; strange rumours began to get abroad: Ignatius was a sorcerer, and deceived the people by his enchantments. This accounted for the extraordinary influence he exercised over men's minds and the interior conflicts which his so-called converts had commonly to sustain. Nor were these injurious suspicions confined to the vulgar only. One thing clearly was a novelty; that a mere unlettered layman, armed with no ecclesiastical authority, should gather about him a numerous body of disciples, shutting themselves up with him for days together in secret conferences. Then there was the

singular and uniform garb worn by Ignatius and his companions. In all this there was mystery, and there might be mischief. Moreover, they frequented the sacraments more constantly than was usual at that time, even with good Christian people, for they communicated on all Sundays and holidays of the Church. To such a length did prejudice carry even conscientious and well-meaning men, that Doctor Alonso Sanchez, a canon of the collegiate Church of San Just, acting on the mistaken opinion that frequent participation led to an irreverent familiarity with sacred things, publicly refused communion to one of the Saint's followers, because he wished to receive it on the octave of a feast, as well as on the feast itself, and allowed it to Ignatius himself only reluctantly and with difficulty. However, shortly afterwards, God made him sensible of his error; for, one day as he was dispensing to him the Bread of Life, he experienced at the moment so sweet a feeling of devotion that he could scarcely restrain his tears. The same day he took Ignatius home with him, and so charmed was he with the manner in which his guest, as was his custom, spoke of spiritual things, that he ever after entertained the greatest reverence for him.

Communion refused.

But the whole matter soon assumed a more serious aspect. Exaggerated reports of what was passing at Alcalá reached the Inquisition at Toledo, together with secret intimations from persons in authority, whose representations could not be disregarded; and it was resolved to institute a formal inquiry into the teaching and practices of Ignatius and his companions. The circumstances of the time were such as to provoke suspicion and alarm. Not to speak of the doctrines which Luther was disseminating in Germany, and which were beginning to distract all Europe, only three years before (1523), there had been discovered in the dioceses of Seville and Cadiz a secret fanatical sect, the members of which called themselves 'Los Alumbrados,' or 'The Enlightened;' and who may be considered as the precursors both of the Molinists and the Quietists of the succeeding century. They taught that prayer of complete interior silence was the one perfect fulfilment of the law of God; that by means of such prayer they could arrive at a state so sublime

Inquisition of Toledo.

that neither good works nor sacraments were necessary ; and that in this exalted state they might abandon themselves to the foulest immoralities without sin. Such were the opinions which Ignatius was suspected of inculcating ; and he and his companions were actually denounced to the tribunal of the Inquisition.

Inquisi-
tion.

Accordingly, Don Alonso de Mexia was sent from Toledo to conduct the enquiry, in conjunction with Don Michel Carasco, a canon of San Just. The judges commenced their sittings on the 19th of November, and proceeded, after the usual manner, to examine in private the persons with whom Ignatius and his companions lodged, as well as any others who had knowledge of their lives and doctrines. From the evidence given, Don Alonso was so far satisfied of the innocence of the accused, that he returned to Toledo, leaving Juan Rodrigues de Figueroa, Grand Vicar of the Archbishop of Toledo, in Alcalá, to complete the informations. After a few days, Figueroa sent for Ignatius and the rest, and apprised them of the enquiry that had been instituted ; and that nothing having been found reprehensible in their lives, or erroneous in their teaching, they were at liberty to pursue their pious practices as before. But as they belonged to no religious order, it was not fitting they should wear what bore the appearance of a religious habit ; and that for the future they should at least vary the colour of their dress : that of Ignatius and Artiaga, for instance, should be black ; and that of Calisto and Cazanes brown ; while Juan might retain the colour he then wore ; to all which they readily agreed. Accordingly, all had their gowns dyed, and on Christmas Day appeared in the colours prescribed to them. About three weeks later, came an order that they should wear shoes, which also they immediately did.

Figueroa.

But his adversaries were too pertinacious to part with Ignatius on such easy terms. Absolved from the charge of heresy, he had prosecuted his apostolic labours with increased success, when, on the 6th March, a new enquiry was set on foot respecting his proceedings. Many persons of piety were accustomed, as before at Barcelona, to consult him on matters connected with the spiritual life ; and it so happened that a married lady of rank was in the habit of going to the

hospital early in the morning, with her face enveloped in her mantilla (as usual in Spain), which she removed when conversing with the Saint. This circumstance was made the occasion of a fresh accusation, which, however, only turned to the Saint's greater credit. The charge on investigation proved to be so perfectly groundless, that he was not even summoned before the judge, nor was he so much as informed at the time that he had been again denounced and acquitted.

For some few weeks he was left in peace, but then an incident occurred which had the effect of changing Figueroa's dispositions, and hastening his own departure from the University. Ignatius had gone to Segovia, to visit his companion Calisto, who was lying dangerously ill. On his recovery, he returned to Alcalá, and had scarcely arrived, when an officer of justice entered his room—he had now left the hospital—and ordered him to follow him. Ignatius quietly obeyed, and was taken to the prison for clerics, where he was told he must consider himself in custody; that he would not be kept in close confinement, but that he must make no attempt to leave the place till the authorities thought proper to liberate him. No further information was given, and Ignatius asked no questions.

Imprisonment.

As he was being led through the streets on his way to prison, he and his guard had to stand on one side to allow to pass by a numerous train of nobles and official personages, in their robes of state, who were doing the honours of the town to a young cavalier, whose comely countenance was one which once beheld would not be easily forgotten. This was Francis Borgia, Marquis de Lombay, son of the Duke of Gandia, then a youth of seventeen, who, twenty years later, when himself in possession of the paternal title, and Viceroy of Catalonia, was to cast himself humbly at that prisoner's feet, and beg him to receive him as his subject and his son.

Francis Borgia.

In his childhood his father's castle of Gandia was taken and sacked during the wars of the Commons; the family fled in terror, and Francis was carried to his uncle, the Archbishop of Saragossa, who kept and educated him, cultivating both his precocious piety and his talents for the accomplishments required in the young nobility of those days; and sent

him, two years later than this incidental meeting, a devout scholar and a distinguished cavalier, to the Court of Charles V., where he won the prize he long coveted—the hand of Eleanora de Castro. It is said that when his musical skill was in request at the Imperial Court, he sang only hymns ; and that in the critical moment of the chase, when the dogs were about to seize upon the boar, or the falcon to swoop down upon the quarry, he would turn away his head, that he might never cease to practise self-denial. But the first instance of reserve seems unlikely ; the last we are told by sporting testimony is impossible.

A less disputed fact of this time has much interest. He seems to have studied the art of war along with the Emperor Charles V., then about his own age, under Sainte-Croix, the greatest military genius of that day ; and Borgia distinguished himself in the campaigns of Africa, Lombardy, and Provence.

Charles sent him to carry news of the campaign to the Empress Isabella, who had ever been the kindest of friends to him and Eleanora. But when her Court—then removed to Toledo, where the States were assembled—was full of splendour and rejoicing, a sudden illness seized the Empress, and she died in a few days. It was the office of Don Francis, as nearest to the Imperial family, to verify the remains mouldering after many days in the coffin, when they were carried to Granada, and after seeing that fearful spectacle, he resolved, as far as should be permitted him, to withdraw from the world. Eleanora would not have dissuaded him. When she was reproached for wearing a dress too plain for one of her rank, she said, ‘ How can I care for rich garments when my husband wears a cilice ? ’ But when Charles made him Viceroy of Catalonia, he discharged the duties of that station with admirable zeal and judgment. He repaired fortifications, introduced new reforms into the Church, the magistracy, the system of education. He was charitable, and often paid the debts of poor prisoners ; when he was forced to sign a death-warrant, it was seldom without tears, and he would have prayers said for the poor soul. When he became Duke of Gandia, his hereditary lands rejoiced in the most active and munificent of landlords. His castle of Gandia

Death of
the Em-
press
Isabella.

would have been the happiest abode in Spain, if a shadow had not hung over it in the declining health of Eleanora. When Faber arrived there in 1544, on his missionary journey through Spain, she was dead. Francis Borgia went through the exercises with Faber, and from that time was in heart a Jesuit. The Regent Philip desired to give him the dignity in Flanders in which the Duke of Alva afterwards made his name execrable, and it is difficult not to regret Borgia's choice; for he himself was not always of opinion that it was well to leave the world for the cloister: when his nephew, the young Duke of Lerma, was inclined to join the Carmelites, then recently reformed by St. Theresa, Borgia told him he ought to serve God in the way marked out for him, and remain in public life.

The occasion of Ignatius's incarceration at Alcalá, as afterwards appeared, was this. Among those who came constantly to hear his discourses, and who were of the number of his most devoted followers, were two noble ladies, mother and daughter, both widows. The name of the first was Maria del Vado; of the other, Luisa Velasquez, who was still young and remarkable for her beauty. In the excess of their zeal, these pious women formed a plan by which they might pass their lives in a sort of perpetual pilgrimage from one hospital to another, ministering to the sick. On communicating their design to Ignatius, he thoroughly disapproved of it, telling them that it was a suggestion of Satan, to withdraw them from the protection of their friends and bring scandal on religion; that if they wished to dedicate themselves to works of mercy, they might satisfy their devotion by visiting the hospitals of Alcalá, and accompanying the blessed sacrament when carried to the sick and dying. They allowed themselves to be dissuaded from their general design, but towards the end of Lent, when Ignatius was absent, without divulging their intention to any except a few intimate friends, they left the town on foot, in the guise of pilgrims, and attended only by a single female servant, set out to beg their way to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadaloupe and that of St. Veronica at Jaen. Their di-

The
pilgrim
ladies.

pearance gave rise to so many injurious reports, that the friends who were in their confidence were compelled to declare the truth; and an outcry was at once raised against Ignatius as the supposed author of so dangerous a project. Don Pédro Guerillos, their guardian, was especially incensed against him. ‘Was it to be endured,’ he said, ‘that an ignorant man like that, a very beggar in the streets, who had come no one knew whence, should disturb the peace of families, and under the pretence of piety, expose young and noble women not only to ridicule but to heavy reproach?’ As Ignatius was a student of the University, the matter would regularly have come under the cognisance of the rector, Don Matéo Pasquale, but because he was known to be favourable to the Saint, Guerillos preferred addressing himself to Figueroa; and as Guerillos was a person of much consideration, and had been placed in the head chair of theology by Ximenes himself, Figueroa acceded to his demands, and proceeded at once, as we have seen, to place Ignatius under arrest. He was comfortably lodged in the prison of the Inquisition at Alcalá. Like that of the Sant’ Uffizi at Rome, it had nothing necessarily penal about it, for many of the persons who were detained there suffered only in the loss of liberty; but it was a terrible injustice that the arrest was often made without letting the accused know what he was suspected of. And the friends of Ignatius were allowed such free access to him, that he was able to continue his spiritual conferences almost without interruption. Among the numbers who listened to him with delight was Don Jorge Navéra, professor of Spiritual Exegesis, a man as eminent for his attainments as for his piety, and a confidential friend of Charles V. One day in particular, it is said, he was so charmed with the Saint’s discourse, that he let his lecture-hour go by without noting the time; then recollecting himself and hastening to his pupils, who were waiting for him, he exclaimed, with the countenance of one transported out of himself, ‘I have seen Paul in fetters!’

Many persons of rank offered him their services. Two are especially mentioned by name, viz. Doña Teresa de Cardena, mother of the Duke of Mercada, and Doña Eleanor Mascareñas, lady of honour to the Empress, afterwards governess

Inquisi-
tion.

Navéra.

to the Infante Philip. But his reply was always the same : 'He for love of whom I came into this place will take me hence when it is His holy will.'

Seventeen days had now elapsed, and Ignatius had neither been apprised of the nature of the charge against him nor examined. During all this time Figueroa had been engaged in taking informations, which (as Bartoli observes, with his characteristic fervour), so far from tending to inculcate the accused, seemed better calculated to promote his canonisation. For, though there was no lack of accusers, their allegations would not bear investigation, while the testimonies in favour of the innocence and holiness of his life and of his good deeds were numerous and irrefragable. At last the Grand Vicar visited him in the prison, accompanied by a public notary, and, among other questions, asked him 'whether he and his companions kept the Sabbath,' meaning to discover whether they were Jews; for some of these, pretending to be Christians, secretly practised Jewish rites, profaned the sacred mysteries, and were the most insidious enemies of the Christian faith. To this Ignatius Acquittal. replied, 'I keep the Sabbath (the Saturday) in honour of the Blessed Virgin, but I know nothing of Jewish customs, for we have no Jews in my country.' Then the Vicar asked him if he knew the two ladies in question, to which he answered that he did. But on his further enquiry whether he was aware of their intention before they set out, he replied, 'By the oath by which I bound myself when you began your interrogation, I was not.' Pleased with his earnestness, the Vicar, laying his hand upon his shoulder, said, smiling, 'That is the sole cause of your detention here : yet I should have been better pleased had you been more careful to avoid all novelty in your discourses.' Upon which Ignatius said gravely but modestly, 'My lord, I should not have thought it was any novelty to speak of Christ to Christians.' Then by the Vicar's desire he related what had passed between himself and the two ladies; all which having been reduced to writing, the inquisitor took his departure, saying that the only thing that remained was to obtain their testimony on their return in confirmation of his statement, and that then he would sign for his release.

But it was five weeks longer before the ladies returned, at the expiration of which time the notary came to read to Ignatius the sentence of the tribunal. He was told that he was free to leave the prison, for that his life and doctrine were found to be without reproach; but that, for sound reasons, he and his associates were at the end of ten days to lay aside the long gown, and adopt the ordinary dress of students; moreover, that they were to hold no public assemblies or private conferences, under pain of excommunication and banishment from the realm for the space of four years, until they had finished their theological course, for that at present they were but little versed in letters. The truth being (according to Gonzales) that Ignatius was really in advance of his companions, but that he was not thoroughly grounded, as he had been himself wont freely to acknowledge.

Prohibition.

Thus, by a strange self-contradiction, the Vicar now prohibited what he had only just before permitted and approved. Ignatius was at once acquitted and condemned; declared blameless in life and doctrine, and, at the same time, silenced and discountenanced. He was an unlearned man, and yet the Vicar could not have been ignorant that God had often raised up men, and women too, who were not learned as the world counts learning, to be both dispensers of His truth and promoters of His interests. But Ignatius was obnoxious to certain persons in authority; he was sure to be for ever giving trouble; moreover, he was eccentric, and he must be made to dress and comport himself like other people. In all which we see an instance of that narrow, short-sighted policy which was so generally in favour at this time. Quiet was the one supposed remedy for all ills, and to bring about this desirable consummation, the only effectual engine was repression. Heresy and misbelief were to be put down with a strong hand, and by the same strong hand the only teaching which could confront, defeat, and anticipate the evil—stifle it in germ, and kill it at the root—was also to be crushed. The same powerful engine was to be used against that restless activity which was everywhere so fatally rife on the side of error, and also against all zeal, energy, and fervour on the side of truth. This miserable system it was which Ignatius was called to break up and destroy, and that not by

resistance to authority, nor by self-assertion, nor by any arts of worldly wisdom, but by obedience, and by that supernatural prudence which is the highest practical sagacity, because it derives its light from the Fountain of Light, and acts simply for God and with a single view to His greater glory.

Throughout the whole affair Ignatius uttered no complaint. He received the sentence of the Inquisition with silent submission; only with regard to the prescribed change of dress he said, 'When you bade us dye our clothes, we did as we were told; but what you now order we cannot do, because we have not the money wherewith.' Upon which he was commended to the charity of a worthy priest, named Juan Lucena, well-known at Alcalá for his works of mercy, who offered to accompany him in quest of alms. And now God was pleased to vindicate the honour of His servant by one of those particular judgments by which He sometimes manifests Himself. In the course of their collection they passed by the house of Don Lope Mendoza, where a number of young men were playing at tennis, with a crowd of people looking on. Lucena approached and begged a contribution, when Lope, who bore Ignatius a grudge for having reproved him on account of his disorderly life, turned to Lucena and said aloud, so that all could hear, 'Are you not ashamed to be going about begging for a wretched hypocrite like that? May I be burned if he does not deserve the fire!' The words occasioned no little indignation among the bystanders, to whom Ignatius was well known, but this feeling was changed into one of horror when, a few hours later, it became known in the city that the imprecation had been literally fulfilled. On that same day news arrived at Alcalá of the birth at Valladolid of a prince, afterwards Philip II., and preparations were made for a great popular rejoicing. Lope was on a tower of his palace (he was one of the chief nobles of Alcalá) making arrangements for firing off guns to celebrate the event, when a spark from the match falling on a heap of gunpowder, it exploded, and enveloped him in the flames. In his agony the unhappy man rushed down from the tower to throw himself into a reservoir of water that was near, but he had no sooner reached the spot than he fell down and died. Ignatius in after days was more than justified for the

Lucena.

Lope Mendoza.

wrongs he had suffered, for it was Alcalá that furnished three of the first and most illustrious members of his Order—Laynez, Salmeron, and Bobadilla, for whose vocation he was preparing during his stay at that town. Six years later, in 1546, Father Francesco Villanueva was sent by the Saint to found a college there; and, in course of time, Suarez and many other famous Jesuit doctors taught in the University, and here also St. Francis Borgia expounded the Holy Scriptures.

Approba-
tion of the
Arch-
bishop of
Toledo.

It was impossible for Ignatius to put himself, at the word of command, in the position of any ordinary student; and, seeing that he was forbidden to speak of Divine things, or to labour for the good of souls, he did not hesitate a moment as to the course he ought to pursue. He would at once leave Alcalá, and betake himself to Salamanca, where he hoped to be able to prosecute his studies without hindrance to his evangelical zeal; but, unwilling as ever to act on his own unaided judgment, he determined to lay the whole matter before the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Alonso Fonseca. For this purpose he repaired to Valladolid, where that prelate then was, and told him that, though no longer under his jurisdiction, nor bound by the sentence issued against him at Alcalá, he was ready to abide by his decision, whatever it might be. The Archbishop listened to him most kindly, and assured him that he would willingly obtain a revocation of the sentence, but that he was unable to move in the affair unless Ignatius lodged a formal appeal, and this he would not do. Learning that he was on his way to Salamanca, he approved of his design, telling him that it was his own University, and that he had friends there to whom he would write on Loyola's behalf, at the same time promising him his services, and putting into his hands four golden crowns for the expenses of his journey.

In the midst of the festivities with which all Spain was celebrating the birth of an heir to the crown, came tidings of a dire and hideous event, which filled the hearts of men with horror. Rome had been taken by assault, and given up to pillage; and the Pope was even then besieged in

the Castle of Sant' Angelo by an army without discipline, a savage horde of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians. At once all sounds of rejoicing ceased, the people went in mournful processions through the streets, and thronged around the altars. Charles V. had ordered prayers to be offered in every church in his dominions for the imprisoned Pontiff; yet a few months before he had given the command of nearly half of these freebooters to the Count of Fronsberg, who induced more than 19,000 Lutherans to join him, receiving only a crown each, but with a promise that he would lead them to plunder Rome. Fronsberg wore over his armour a cord twisted of gold and silk, which he said he made ready to hang the Pope *respectfully* over the gates of the Vatican. The other half of the Imperial army, Spaniards and Italians, were led by the Duke of Bourbon, the most popular and successful captain in Europe at that time; and yet Clement, with an infatuation wholly incredible, refused to be alarmed, and would neither ransom his people nor provide soldiers for their defence; and Renze di Ceri, whom he chose for the command of his insufficient garrison and ill-protected walls, absolutely answered Gui de Rangon, only two days before the fatal taking of the town, —that he did not want the 6,000 soldiers Gui offered him, but would accept only 800 arquebusiers; yet Ceri had not then 3,000 men, and those were chiefly new recruits. Clement would not leave his palace, nor suffer the Romans to carry off their plate and jewels to a place of safety, even when the Duke de Bourbon, become by Fronsberg's death sole leader of the turbulent army, was stationed behind the Vatican and Sant' Angelo. Bourbon himself fell in the first assault, but the army rushed in; and when the Pope, driven at last into the fortress of Sant' Angelo, saw from its windows the plunder and massacre that spread over the city, and were not satiated for many months, he found there were none to defend him, either within the walls or without.

The Lutheran soldiers broke open the tombs of St. Peter's, scattered the bodies of the Popes and the holy relics, tossed about the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, then dragged out the vestments from the Sacristies, dressed themselves in priestly garb, and held a conclave in one of the chapels,

Rome
taken, May
6, 1527.

wherein Luther was proclaimed Pope. The rule of such a Pope was suitable to his character—violence and fury reigned and destroyed everywhere; even the personal friends of the Emperor, such as the Cardinals of Sienna, Araceli, Ponzetta, were tortured with so much brutality that Ponzetta died soon after.

Contemporary historians, even some not favourable to the Papacy, give frightful details of the atrocities then enacted: every house plundered; churches and palaces turned into stables; sacred vessels and places defiled; pictures of the great masters riddled with bullets, smeared with blood, and trampled underfoot; rich painted windows shattered and demolished for the sake of the lead; rare books and manuscripts, the priceless treasures of the Papal library, thrown as litter for horses, or scattered to the winds. No age, or sex, or character was respected. Holy virgins, young girls, and noble matrons, brutally outraged and then murdered at the foot of the altars to which they had fled for refuge. Mothers, unable to endure the sight, tore out their own eyes; others fled away into caverns, where they perished of hunger. All the tortures that a refined cruelty could invent were employed to compel the wretched inhabitants to deliver up their money and other valuables to the last trifle.

Many prelates and nobles and rich merchants died under their torments: even the partisans of the conquerors, by whose treachery and connivance the Imperialists had been suffered to gain an easy victory, were not permitted to escape the general spoliation. When the impious rout were weary of slaughter and sated with plunder, they abandoned themselves to those gross buffooneries in which the mocking spirit of the Reformation loved to display itself. They put on their heads the hats of the cardinals, dressed themselves in their robes, and paraded the city mounted on asses; they laid a cardinal in a bier, and carried him through the streets, chaunting the office of the dead; then, mounting into a pulpit, one among them delivered a revolting discourse of obscenity and blasphemy: or they exhibited themselves in rich stuffs of silk and brocade, accompanied by shameless women, decked out with precious stones, torn from monasteries and reliquaries. And this iniquitous state of things

Sacking of
Rome.

lasted for nine long months. The mind turns away with horror from these dreadful scenes; but it is well to look sometimes with a steady eye on the calamities which follow from outbreaks encouraged on the pretence of emancipation, and the tyranny exercised by the professed partisans of religious freedom. Clement VII. was condemned to witness these scenes from the Castle of Sant' Angelo, without the power of arresting them, and doubtful of what his own fate might be; and to men who had no faith in the promise of God, it might have seemed that now at length the rule of the Popes was at an end.

The University of Salamanca, the oldest in Spain, was also highest in favour of wealthy and noble families; and the 'Bachelor of Salamanca' was the commonly-received type of an aristocratic roysterer, with something dashing and military about him, as well as studious.¹ 'From Salamanca alone,' says one who wrote in the days of Philip II., 'there have gone out more subjects for the king's service than from all the military regiments in the world.' But although Salamanca was the chief resort of students from the higher and wealthier classes, the number of poor scholars was also very great. Cervantes, who was himself a member of the University, has given an amusing description of their poverty—their 'lack of shirts, and no superabundance of shoes'—which reminds us of the hardships endured by students at Cambridge, even when they were fortunate enough to be members of a college. Their dinner, we are told, consisted of 'a penny piece of beef, amongst four of them; a potage made of the broth of the same, with salt and oatmeal, and nothing else.' Their supper was not much better than their dinner; and, being without fire, 'they were fain to walk or run up and down half an hour, to get a heat into their feet,' before they went to bed. At Salamanca, it

¹ The frequent disputes between 'the town and the gown' were usually not decided without drawn swords. It seems probable that this traditional hostility, which we even find active in Oxford and Cambridge now, originated in the jealousy with which the burgesses regarded several privileges accorded by sovereigns all over Europe in the middle ages to the students of their Universities, in order to induce young men from a distance to enter the schools.

seems to have been customary for young noblemen and gentlemen to be attended by their foster-brothers, or by the sons of old tenants and domestics, who became fellow-students with their young masters. The poverty of our Saint would, therefore, have none of that grim and grotesque appearance, even at Salamanca, which it would have in after days.

Sala-
manca.

Ignatius had stayed at Alcalá a little more than a year. On arriving at Salamanca, not knowing where to find his companions, who had preceded him some time, he went into a church to pray, when a pious woman, after looking at him attentively, and recognising him as by description, enquired his name, and offered to conduct him to the house where Calisto and the rest were lodged. The Saint at once resumed his studies, and with them those other labours of charity and piety which formed his principal occupation. His fame had gone before him, and crowds were attracted to his conferences. A strange and unheard-of thing it was that a layman should be a public teacher of religion, the author of a special system of spiritual training, and should number even priests among his followers. There was a general stir throughout the place; the authorities became alarmed, and deemed it their duty to enquire into the pretensions of this new teacher. It is from Ignatius himself that we learn the particulars of what took place; and they were taken down by Gonzales, from the Saint's own lips.

Ignatius
examined
by the Do-
minicans.

He had chosen as his confessor a Dominican father of the great convent of St. Stephen, and one day, before he had been a fortnight at Salamanca, his confessor told him that his brethren wished to speak with him. Ignatius answered, 'Be it so, in the name of the Lord.' The confessor then said, 'It would be well for you to come and dine here on Sunday; but I must warn you that you will be closely questioned.' Accordingly, on Sunday Ignatius went to the convent, accompanied by Calisto; and, after they had dined, the Sub-prior (the Prior being absent), together with the confessor and one of the brethren, led them into a chapel, and they all took their seats. Calisto had on a very short gown and a large flap-hat; he held a staff in his hand, and his boots reached only half up his legs; as he was a tall man, his appearance was very ungainly. The Sub-prior asked

why he dressed in that strange fashion. Ignatius explained how they had been made to change their attire at Alcalá, and that Calisto had given away his student's clothes in the course of the summer to a poor priest, who required them more than he did: as they had been given to himself out of charity, so had he parted with them out of charity. The friar replied, in an undertone, as though he were not well pleased, 'Charity begins at home.' Then, addressing Ignatius in a voice of much kindness, he began by saying how much he had been gratified by the accounts he had heard of his manner of life; how he went about like another apostle teaching the people, and that it would be a pleasure to him to hear full particulars from himself. First, then, he would ask him what course of study he had followed. Ignatius replied that he had himself been more of a student than the rest, but freely declared that he had not studied much, and was but ill-grounded.

'How, then, is it that you preach?' asked the friar.

'We do not preach,' said Ignatius; 'we only converse with people in a familiar manner about Divine things—as, for instance, after dinner, with those who ask us to their houses.'

'And about what Divine things? for this is what we want to hear.'

'We speak of this or that virtue in such a way as to make people love and practise it, and of this or that vice in such a way as to make them hate and avoid it,' was the reply.

Then said the friar, 'You own you are not learned, and nevertheless, you hold public discourses about virtues and vices. These are subjects about which no one is able to speak unless he has been taught in the schools or by the Holy Spirit. You have not been taught in the schools; it therefore follows that you have been taught by the Holy Spirit. Now this it is we seek to know.'

This mode of reasoning did not approve itself to Ignatius, and, after a moment's reflection, he answered, 'It were better to speak no more of these matters.'

'What,' insisted the friar, 'in these times, when the errors of Erasmus and so many others are being spread abroad and are deluding the people, do you refuse to declare what it is you teach them?'

‘Father,’ answered Ignatius, ‘I will say no more than what I have already said, except before my superiors, who have a right to interrogate me.’

‘Remain here, then,’ replied the Sub-prior; ‘we will soon make you tell everything.’ The friars thereupon rose and hurried away; and all the doors of the convent were ordered to be locked.

Ignatius and Calisto were thus kept prisoners in the convent, while the friars were taking measures for bringing the matter before the regular Courts. They took their meals in the refectory, and so many of the brethren came to their cell that it was almost always full. The Saint discoursed to them on spiritual things, according to his wont, and all the more freely because, being versed in sacred knowledge, they were better able to understand and appreciate what he said. There was soon a division among his auditors. Many believed that the Spirit of God spoke by his lips, and testified great affection for him. Others declared, that an unknown man and a layman ought not to be permitted to assume the office of a teacher, and that a strict examination ought to be made lest any dangerous errors should lie concealed under an appearance of zeal and holy doctrines. And here we may observe, that if the former showed the finer and truer instinct, the latter were equally to be commended for their caution and their anxiety to prevent the introduction of false doctrine. Their principle was a right one; and Ignatius ever recognised and deferred to it; he willingly offered himself for examination, only he would be examined by lawful authorities.

Frias.

Meanwhile the affair had been laid before the Grand Vicar Frias, a Bachelor of the University, and after three days he sent a notary to conduct Ignatius and Calisto to prison: a proceeding which showed that their detention was no longer a mere precautionary measure, but a punishment. However, they were not placed in the dungeon with common malefactors, but in a chamber above it, which, nevertheless, was both comfortless and foul, having been long untenanted and dilapidated. No beds were provided for them, and they were both fastened by the foot to a pillar in the middle of the cell, by means of a chain some eight or nine yards long,

in such a way that neither could move without dragging his companion with him. The first night they passed, like Paul and Silas, in praying and praising God. On the morrow, when the news of their imprisonment was rumoured in the city, numbers came to visit them, and, seeing that they had only the bare floor to lie upon, sent them not only bedding, but everything else they could require, and in abundance, despite all Ignatius could say to the contrary. As usual, he took occasion to converse with all who came on heavenly things.

The Grand Vicar now examined each of them apart, and Ignatius delivered to him all his papers, including the book of 'Spiritual Exercises.' Being asked what other associates he had, and where they were, he gave the Vicar their names and informed him where they might be found. Cazares and Artiago were accordingly apprehended and lodged in the common prison, in order that they might hold no communication with their companions in the cell above. But Jean, on account of his youth, was left free. As before at Alcalá, the Saint would employ no legal advocate, neither would he accept any offer of mediation on his behalf, leaving his cause entirely in the hands of God. After a few days he was summoned into the presence of his judges, who were four in number, being three doctors of theology in addition to Frias, the Grand Vicar. They began by putting to him a number of questions, not only with respect to the book of 'Exercises,' which they had all examined with the strictest care, but also on many deep questions of theology—for instance, on the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Blessed Sacrament—that they might ascertain whether he held any opinions contrary to the faith. Ignatius, after making his usual protest that he was an unlearned person, and desired in all he said to submit himself to the judgment of the Church, answered with so much exactness and solidity that his judges could take no exception to his replies. Then the Vicar, who was disposed to press him more closely than the rest, proposed to him a difficult question of canon law. Ignatius first replied that he was ignorant as to what was the opinion of the doctors on the subject; but not being allowed to pass the question, he gave a fitting answer, which resolved the doubt.

Of one thing only the judges disapproved, that though he confessed himself to be an unlearned person, he had nevertheless ventured, at the beginning of his book of the 'Exercises,' to lay down rules for distinguishing between mortal and venial sins, a subject of much perplexity even to the most enlightened theologians. Ignatius replied, 'Whether what I have said is true or not, it is for you to judge; if, therefore, it be not true, condemn the definition;' but this they were careful not to do.

At last they bade him discourse to them after the manner he was accustomed to do in public, giving him as a subject the first commandment. Then Ignatius began to speak on that theme of themes, the love of God; and as his heart kindled and glowed with the fire that lay ever burning within it, it was evident to all that it was no mere doctrine he was teaching, but that he spoke from the depth and fulness of his own experience. They sat and listened to him as to one inspired; then, when at length he ended, they rose and took their departure, with a few words of encouragement and grave respect: there was no longer any thought of asking him questions.

Although Ignatius had been virtually acquitted, he was still detained in prison, nor was he even released from the chain. Among those who came to converse with him was the Grand Vicar himself, accompanied by Francesco Mendoza, who afterwards became a cardinal, bishop of Burgos, and archbishop of Valencia; the latter, in after times, proved himself a special friend of the Saint and of his institute. Seeing him in irons, Mendoza was moved to compassion, and kindly asked him whether he did not find his confinement hard to bear. To which the Saint replied, 'I will say to you what I said just now to a noble lady who pitied me because she saw me bound with this chain—"It is a sign that you have but little love of Jesus Christ in your heart, or you would not deem it so grievous a thing to be in bonds for His sake"—and I declare to you that all Salamanca does not contain as many fetters, manacles and chains as I long to wear for the love of God.' Some religious in the town wrote to condole with him on his imprisonment, and to express their sense of the harshness with which he was treated; the

Saint replied, 'he was astonished that they of all people should be so ignorant of the immense treasures that are hidden in the mystery of the Cross of Christ.' One night all the criminals in custody succeeded in making their escape, and in the morning the doors were found open, and no one was left in prison except Ignatius and his three companions. When the fact became known in the city, it created a strong impression in their favour, and the magistrates had them removed to a commodious apartment in an adjoining building; but even now their fetters were not removed.

It was not till after three weeks and a day from the time of their arrest that Ignatius and his companions were brought before their judges to hear their sentence. Nothing having been found reprehensible in their life or doctrine, they were free, as before, to teach and to labour for their neighbour's good; with this only restriction, that inasmuch as they had not completed their four years' course of theology, they must abstain from defining the distinction between mortal and venial sins. After delivering their sentence, the judges testified their approbation in the warmest manner, evidently with the desire that Ignatius should take their decision in good part. But though more indulgent in its terms than the judgment passed at Alcalá, he felt that its effects were practically the same. He therefore made answer that he would comply with its tenor so long as he remained under their jurisdiction; but that he could not yield to it an interior acceptance, because while they had pronounced his doctrine to be free from error, they had at the same time effectually closed his lips by the prohibition with which they had accompanied the permission to teach. The Vicar Frias, with many expressions of esteem, begged him not to construe too rigidly the judgment they had passed, and endeavoured to dissuade him from leaving the town; but Ignatius persisted in the answer he had given. He saw clearly that to lay such a restriction on him was to silence him altogether; it was impossible for him to speak of sin without drawing the distinction between mortal and venial sin: that distinction effaced, his teaching would not be practical, and therefore not profitable. And further, if he continued, as he must continue, to condemn all offences

against God, in thought, word, and deed, his opponents, who hated the holy strictness of his teaching, might allege that he was defining the character of the offence, and so had disobeyed the injunction he had received.

Many persons, and those of high consideration, strove to detain him at Salamanca; but he was not turned from his purpose. Gonzales here states that Ignatius had not yet determined whether he would form a distinct society, as he had already begun to do, or would engraft his institute upon that of some existing order, whose relaxed condition would afford freer scope to the operations of his zeal: he would reform it, and adapt its organisation to the accomplishment of his great design. For the present, however, having commended the matter to God, and perceiving that the obstacles he had to encounter in Spain were not to be surmounted, he determined to proceed to Paris, where he could devote himself more entirely to study, and should have better opportunities of meeting with young men, from all parts of the world, capable of sharing his labours, and realising his views. His four companions, it was arranged, should remain to study at Salamanca, still however united to him in spirit, until he had taken measures for their being no longer dependent upon alms; and, within three weeks after his release, he left the town for Barcelona, driving before him an ass laden with his few books and scanty wardrobe.

Return to
Barcelona.

At Barcelona his friends received him with delight, and would fain have deterred him from prosecuting his journey into France. Winter was setting in with great severity; war was raging more fiercely than ever between Charles and Francis; the frontiers were infested with brigands, and frightful stories were in circulation as to the cruelties they practised. He would travel alone and on foot, and was acquainted neither with the roads nor with the language. Seeing, however, that none of these representations were of any avail with him, all they could do was to offer him, through Doña Isabel Roser, a sum of money, partly in coin, partly in letters of exchange. This he accepted, and quitted Spain a few days before the close of the year 1527, or a few days after the commencement of the year 1528.

Departure
for France.

It had become abundantly clear that it was not on Spanish ground that the institute of which Ignatius meditated the foundation was to take substantial shape ; the materials indeed would be Spanish, but they would not be either found or formed in Spain. The reason of this in the order of Divine Providence it is not difficult to see. Isolated by its geographical position from the rest of Europe, and engrossed with its conquests in the New World, and its own interests, Spain took but little part in the solution of the great religious and social questions which had begun to agitate and divide the Christian world. The swell of a movement, already so powerful elsewhere, had as yet scarcely reached its shores ; all was quiescent even to stagnation ; there was no fermentation of thought, no conflict of opinion. Authority was on the alert to detect and arrest any disturbing influence ; and, as we have seen in the Saint's own case, 'silence even from good things' was the enforced condition of repose.

But the elements of mischief were gathering strength every day, and Ignatius had need of being equipped and trained for the coming strife. Spain afforded neither the fitting arena nor the needful discipline ; in fact, it had refused to grant him room even for the first rude exercise of his powers. To Paris, therefore, he was providentially led ; because among the members of its ancient University, both masters and students, as throughout French society in general, there was a stir, ferment, and restlessness—a collision, as it were, between the old times and the new, an appreciation of the past, and an earnest looking forward to the future—which placed him in presence (so to speak) of the era which was passing away, and of that which was not yet fully come. Here evidently it was that he could best be fashioned and prepared for the work which God had appointed him to do.

Paris at this time may be described as consisting of three several towns, of which the University was one ; comprising as many as fifty colleges and schools, in which resided the masters, professors, and such scholars as had obtained burses or exhibitions, or who acted as servants to the masters, and were supported by them ; as were the sizars originally at Cambridge, and the servitors at Oxford. Here also were the

lodgings, either within the walls of some college or without, of the great body of students, numbering at this period from 12,000 to 16,000. 'The University,' to quote the words of Dr. Newman, 'engrossed as its territory the whole south bank of the Seine, and occupied one half, and that the pleasanter half, of the city. The King had the island pretty well as his own; and the north of the river was given over to the nobles and citizens to do what they could with its marshes; but the eligible south, rising from the stream, which swept around its base, to the fair summit of St. Geneviève, with its broad meadows, its vineyards, and its gardens, and with the sacred elevation of Montmartre confronting it, all this was the inheritance of the University. There was that pleasant Pratum, stretching along the river's bank, in which the students for centuries took their recreation, which Alcuin seems to mention in his farewell verses to Paris, and which has given a name to the great Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés. For long years it was devoted to the purpose of innocent and healthy enjoyment; but evil times were coming on the University; disorder was to arise within its precincts, and the fair meadow to become the scene of party brawls; heresy was about to stalk through Europe, and Germany and England would no longer send their contingent of students to its halls. The time was not far distant when that ancient manor, whither the Muses were wont to wander for retirement and pleasure, would be let or sold to pay a heavy debt; buildings would rise upon it, and spread along the green sod; and the country would at length become town.' But when Ignatius went there this catastrophe had not yet occurred; there was still the green meadow and the pleasant stream; there were even natural grottoes, and solitary places favourable alike to studious reflection and devout meditation; and Montmartre was still a sacred eminence, standing peacefully and solemnly apart from the hurry and the strife of men.

The academic body was divided into four nations, called after that portion of Europe to which the students joining it principally belonged; and each nation had its head and representative, who was called its procurator or proctor. These nations were, first, the French, which included the centre and south of France, Spain, Italy, and Greece; se-

condly, the Picards, amongst whom the natives of Flanders and Brabant were numbered; thirdly, the Norman; and fourthly, that which anciently had borne the name of English, but which, in consequence of the wars of the fourteenth century, was now called German, and included Scandinavia.

The ancient schools of Christian Europe, adopting the order followed in the earlier ages of heathen philosophy, had professed the three sciences of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, which made up what was called the *Trivium*, and the four branches of mathematics, viz. arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, which were comprised under the term *Quadrivium*. These seven sciences again were comprehended under the single designation of arts; and the faculty of arts constituted the staple of a university. The *Quadrivium* was also called philosophy. But in course of time, as the range of studies was extended and elevated, philosophy came to be recognised as 'a science of sciences,' which included, located, connected, and used all kinds and modes of knowledge; the sphere and application of logic were enlarged; civil law, natural history, and medicine were added to the *curriculum*; and, lastly, theology, which originally had been little more than comment on Scripture, was exalted (so to speak) to the dignity of a science. So that at length the whole system of academical instruction was included under what were called the Four Faculties, each of which had its dean: theology, law (canon and civil), philosophy, and medicine; in subordination to which were metaphysics, natural history, and the Semitic languages.

There were schools also for teaching the Humanities, in which term were comprised the rudiments of all that went under the name of the *Trivium*, especially of the classics, as distinguished from philosophy and science.

The professors were sufficiently numerous, though in general but inadequately remunerated; the majority of the students might with truth be called 'poor scholars,' and their instruction was gratuitous.

Francis I. founded, in 1531, the Collège Royal for the three learned languages, herein following the example of Ximenes, Leo X., and Jerome Busleiden of Louvain. Greek was but little cultivated at the University of Paris; that is,

for the sake of the classical authors, though it had never ceased to be studied to a certain extent by theologians. But France possessed one who was universally allowed to be the most profound Greek scholar in Europe, Budæus—who, in 1529, published his celebrated ‘Commentaries,’ which have been ‘the text-book and common storehouse of succeeding lexicographers.’ An impetus was thus given to philological learning, and especially to the study of Greek literature, in the University of Paris, which inspired an instinctive and, as the event proved, a well-grounded mistrust, however at times extravagantly displayed, lest a disproportionate attention paid to Hebrew and Greek should become the occasion, or be made the pretext, for a depreciation of the Latin Vulgate and of theological science.

The innovations of which Germany had become the scene had begun to attract the attention and sympathy of many of the more ardent spirits among a population so numerous and so excitable, as to cause no small alarm in the guardians of the ancient faith. There seems, however, to have been little supervision of the morals or the conduct of the students on the part of the ruling powers, and a general prevalence of carelessness and indifference in regard to those of whom they had the charge. The state of learning was low; the school-books and methods used were antiquated in form, and inadequate to the requirements of the age; and the teachers were indolent and irregular. This we learn by implication from a letter addressed to the Parliament of Paris, by Père Barnez, when defending the Jesuits of the College of Clermont. ‘They have not,’ he says, ‘repulsed the poor, and invited the rich; their exercises have been regular, without intermission or remissness. No courses have been begun and left unfinished; order has been kept in the classes; the regents rise early, prepare themselves before they meet their pupils, and enter the schools the moment the clock strikes, not loitering and idling in the court; neither do they conclude till the hour is over. They do not allow the students to attend only some of the lectures, or to fail in rendering an account of what they are taught, or to omit the compositions required of them.’ A ‘more vigorous emulation, and a more uniform scheme of discipline’ was wanted, and, above all, a more

earnest religiousness and a deeper spirituality. This was to be supplied, as in other universities, so at length in that of Paris, by the followers of him who, though a perfect proficient in the science of the saints, was as yet but a tyro in secular knowledge; and was come to be a humble learner in the schools which, one day, his sons, despite the discouragements and opposition which they never ceased to encounter, were to enrich by their erudition, and illustrate with their virtues.

Ignatius on first arriving at Paris lodged with some other 1528. Spanish students in the town, and being now fully sensible of the error he had committed in pursuing so many subjects at once, and not allowing himself time to be perfectly grounded in any, he determined on commencing resolutely afresh from the beginning. For this object he attended the classes at the Collége Montaigu, which was, in truth, a grammar-school for boys; to whom, no doubt, the presence of so big a schoolfellow must have been a source of merriment. His intention was to devote himself sedulously to the studies of the place, and by availing himself of the pious offerings of friends, to save the time which heretofore he had lost in gathering alms. That his benefactors at Barcelona were not unmindful of his necessities appears from a letter which he wrote to Doña Iñez Pascoala soon after his arrival:—

To my Sister in Christ our Lord, Pascoala; Jesus.

The true peace of Christ our Lord visit and keep our souls. Having regard to the goodwill and affection which you have always had for me in God our Lord, and which you have proved to me by your acts, I have thought it well to write to you and give you some account of my journey since I parted from you. With favourable weather, and in perfect health, by the grace and mercy of our Lord, I arrived in this city of Paris, the 2nd day of February, where I am studying until the Lord order otherwise concerning me. I have wished much that you had written to me . . . whether Fonseca answered the letter which you wrote, and which . . . or whether you have spoken to him. Commend me much to Juan, and tell him to be always obedient to his parents, keeping the feasts, as in so doing he will live long on earth, and also in Heaven. Commend me much . . . that her jewels have arrived here, and her affection

Letter to
Doña Iñez.

and goodwill for the sake of God our Lord are always present to me ; the Lord of the universe repay her, and may He, in His infinite goodness, abide in our souls, to the end that His will and pleasure be ever accomplished in us. From Paris, 3rd of March, 1528.

Poor in goodness, YNIGO.¹

Ignatius was not long to enjoy the peace and leisure which he hoped he had secured. Soon after reaching Paris he had exchanged a Barcelona bill of twenty-five ducats, which he entrusted to one of his fellow-lodgers, who spent the money and was unable to repay it. The consequence was that, by the end of Lent, Ignatius found himself completely destitute and again compelled to beg his bread from door to door. What was even more embarrassing, he was obliged to quit his lodgings and seek an asylum in the Hospital of St. Jacques, whose inmates were not allowed by the regulations to go out before it was light and were required to be within the gates before the evening Angelus. So that Ignatius every day missed some portion of the lectures. The inconvenience and the restraint he would readily have borne, but the interruption to his studies was a serious disadvantage. In his humility he thought he would attach himself to the service of some professor, like other poor scholars ; and to make this at the same time an act of devotion, he would look upon his master as representing Jesus Christ and his fellow-students as the Apostles. But although his endeavours were seconded by several influential friends, one of whom was a bachelor of the University, Juan de Castro by name, and another a Carthusian monk, no one was willing to engage him. He was now advised to go into Flanders every summer during the two months' vacation, and there collect among the Spanish merchants who traded at Antwerp and Bruges enough to maintain him for the rest of the academical year. This plan he adopted with success for two vacations ; during the third summer, he crossed over to England, which was still in communion with the Holy See.

For five years Ignatius had ceased to experience that weakness of stomach which had been caused by his excessive mortifications at Manresa. Accordingly he now began to multiply his fasts and penances, and, although, to

¹ De bondad pobre, Ynigo.

gain more time for study, he was constrained to discontinue some of his devotional exercises, yet three things he was ever most careful to observe : he heard mass devoutly every day ; he confessed and communicated every week ; twice in each day he examined his conscience, and by comparing one day with another, and week with week, and month with month, sought to ascertain with the utmost possible exactness what progress he had made or what relapses he had suffered in his spiritual course. All this time, too, he neglected no opportunity of benefiting souls, but it was not till after his first visit to Flanders that he recommenced his accustomed conferences ; and being (as Mariani observes) one of those just men, who are said in the Book of Wisdom to be ‘ like sparks among the reeds,’ setting willing hearts on fire, his labours were requited by many extraordinary conversions. His zeal displayed itself principally among his own countrymen, for he seems never to have acquired much knowledge of French, and perhaps it was from the remembrance of the disadvantages under which he had laboured at this time, that he made it a matter of obligation that the members of his Society should learn to speak the language of the country in which they lived.

Among the most remarkable of his first disciples, were the bachelor De Castro, of Toledo, of whom mention has been made—a man of great talent and a member of the Sorbonne ; a student named Peralta ; and a young Biscayan, of the family of Amadores, who resided at the College of St. Barbara. These three, after going through the ‘ Spiritual Exercises,’ under the Saint’s direction, resolved to renounce all the former objects of their ambition, and to consecrate themselves to God by a life of poverty and prayer. Accordingly, they sold all they had, even to their books, and, distributing the produce among the poor, retired into the Hospital of St. Jacques, which Ignatius had now quitted. It is easy to conceive the commotion that prevailed when it became known that three young men of so much promise, and two of them highly connected, had been guilty of so daring a breach of social and academical propriety. Their act was declared to be one of sheer fanaticism and folly, as discreditable to themselves as it was dishonouring to their country

and their families ; and for this Ignatius was held to be accountable. The Spaniards at Paris were furious against him ; the learned doctor, Pedro Ortiz, who was afterwards Imperial ambassador at Rome, and took an active part in promoting the cause of the unfortunate Queen Catherine, was especially indignant on account of De Castro and Peralta, both of whom were his companions and pupils ; while Govéa, a Portuguese professor of great repute, whose lectures Amadores attended, and who was also rector of his college, protested that Ignatius had driven the young man crazy by his extravagances, and deserved to be publicly disgraced.

One Juan Madera, who had known Ignatius in former times, taking scandal at those expeditions which Ignatius had made into Flanders, had accused him of doing what was derogatory, and consequently unjust, to the house of Loyola ; as if his noble relatives were either unable or unwilling to support one of their own kinsmen. Failing to convince him by arguments, Ignatius had recourse to the expedient of seeking the judgment of authority, and referred the question, in the shape of a case of conscience, to certain learned doctors of the Sorbonne :—‘ May a nobleman, who has forsaken the world for the love of Christ, go from place to place soliciting alms, without bringing disgrace on his family ? ’ The answers were unanimously to the effect that no suspicion of blame could attach to such a course ; and Ignatius had shown the replies to Madera, not so much for his own justification, as in vindication of that voluntary poverty which had been ennobled and sanctified by the example of Christ Himself.

Then as to the charge of fanaticism, doubtless Ignatius had encouraged his disciples to practise the evangelical counsels ; he had inspired them with the desire of leading a life of Christian perfection ; but he had not taught them that Christian perfection consisted in voluntary poverty ; there was nothing in the ‘ Spiritual Exercises ’ to countenance such a notion, albeit the practice of it was a most effectual means to that end, and, in certain individual cases, might even be necessary to attain a high degree of sanctity. Besides, who shall limit the operations of the Most High, or

Asking
alms.

prescribe the method or the measure of the attractions of His grace? But these were considerations which never entered the minds of the Saint's accusers; spiritual perfection, special vocations, were ideas foreign to their thoughts: all they knew was, that these young students had done what was foolish and extravagant in men's eyes, and destructive of their worldly interests; and they were resolved that he whom they regarded as the author of the mischief should be held up to public obloquy. It chanced, however, that Ignatius was absent from Paris at the time the clamour was at its height; and the occasion of his absence serves to show the character of the man.

The young Spaniard who had appropriated the money entrusted to him by Ignatius had fallen ill at Rouen, on his way back to Spain, and, in his extreme distress and destitution, bethought him of applying for assistance to him whose confidence he had betrayed. Ignatius resolved at once to go himself, with the double object of relieving the youth's necessities and inducing him to reform his life. To obtain this great grace, he conceived a desire of performing the whole journey barefoot, and without taking either meat or drink on the way. But while he was making his intention a subject of prayer, a great fear came over him lest he should be tempting God; nor was he relieved from his apprehensions until he had visited the Church of the Dominicans, and there renewed his resolution before the tabernacle. The next morning, however, his fears returned; and he experienced so strong a repugnance to undertake the journey, that his limbs seemed unwilling to obey him, and he was scarcely able, he said, to put on his clothes. Nevertheless, he set out before daybreak, the conflict continuing until he had walked the first three leagues, as far as Argenteuil, famous for having in its church the seamless robe of our Lord. After leaving this place, as he was toiling up a hill, with much weariness both of mind and body, suddenly he felt within himself such an exhilaration and buoyancy of spirit, that in the gladness of his heart he lifted up his voice, as he journeyed through the fields, and began to speak aloud and converse with God. That day he accomplished full fourteen leagues without being sensible either of fatigue or hunger.

GENELLI.

The first night he slept in a hospital, sharing the bed of a poor mendicant; the second, in a little hut; on the third day he arrived at Rouen, without breaking his fast. After ministering to the wants of the sick youth as long as his illness lasted, he paid for his passage on board a vessel that was about to sail from Havre, provided all the necessaries for his voyage, and gave him commendatory letters to the three disciples whom he had left at Salamanca.

Scarcely had he taken leave of this young Spaniard, when, in the streets of Rouen, a messenger put into his hands a letter from a friend at Paris, informing him that his adversaries had taken occasion from his absence to spread the most calumnious reports respecting him, declaring that his true character had been detected, and he had been compelled to take flight; that he was a sorcerer and a magician, who blinded the understandings even of otherwise sensible persons by his diabolical arts; that he had been actually delated to the Inquisitors as a teacher of false doctrine and a corrupter of youth. Even at Paris, where the proceedings of these officials were characterised by great mildness and justice, such a denunciation was not to be lightly regarded; and it was rendered all the more serious by communications to the same effect which had been received from Spain. To show that he had not left the University with a view to escaping from the jurisdiction of the Papal delegates, Ignatius went immediately with the messenger to a notary, and there procured a certificate, attested by two witnesses, to the effect that he had started for Paris as soon as he had received the letter. By his desire, the notary and the witnesses also accompanied him part of the way. On arriving, he proceeded at once to the Inquisitor's residence, without so much as going to his own lodging first; and, presenting his certificate, declared his readiness to submit to whatever might be resolved respecting him. He asked only one favour, that the enquiry might be prosecuted without delay, in order that he might commence his course of philosophy on the feast of St. Remigius, which was close at hand, free from all harassing distractions. Matteo Ori, a Dominican and a doctor of theology, now filled the office of Grand Inquisitor at Paris. He was pious, learned, and humane. He

was afterwards entrusted by Henry II. with the difficult task of endeavouring to recover from Calvinism his aunt Renée, the accomplished Duchess of Ferrara. His intelligence and engaging manners, it was thought, might give him influence with her; but the attempt, unhappily, was made too late. Any prepossessions he may have entertained against Ignatius, from the exaggerated reports that had reached him, vanished at the sight of him; he recognised at a glance the kind of seductive arts which the Saint was in the habit of practising, and replied, with a kindly courtesy, that informations had been laid against him, but for himself he was well satisfied of his innocence, and he might pursue his studies without fear of molestation. Meanwhile, all arguments and entreaties having failed to have any effect with the three young students,¹ a large party of their friends, well armed, proceeded to the Hospital, and leading them, or rather dragging them, out by force, carried them back to their former abode. Here they were induced to come to an agreement, by which they engaged to proceed no further with their design until they had concluded their academical course.

At the end of the time, De Castro returned to Spain, and, after preaching for a while at Burgos, took the religious habit in the Carthusian monastery at Valencia. Peralta undertook a pilgrimage on foot to Jerusalem, in regular pilgrim guise; but in Italy, happening to fall in the way of a relative who held a high military command in that country, he was by him seized and taken to Rome, where he was brought before the Pope, who commanded him to return to his own country. He afterwards became a canon of Toledo, and led an exemplary life. Thus, in these two cases, although the seeds that were sown did not issue in the precise fruit that was expected, they prospered nevertheless, and were abundantly productive. Of the young Biscayan nothing further is known.

Ignatius, as was said, spent his first vacations in Flanders. At Bruges he was kindly received by a Spanish merchant, named Gonsalvo Aquiglieres, a man of much influence in the place, and of a noble zeal for God, which he had displayed in

¹ De Castro, Peralta, and Amadores.

preserving the Church of the Augustinians from the fury of the Protestant iconoclasts. He had taken Ignatius into his house from a pure motive of charity, but he was soon led to regard him with reverence and affection; so that when he was afterwards called by business to Paris, he chose to lodge for several months in the same rooms with him. A house is still pointed out at Bruges in which the Saint resided, and which is probably that which belonged to his benefactor. It was in the same town that Ignatius made the acquaintance of another Spaniard, Luis Vives, a man of considerable learning and ability. He had invited Ignatius to his table, as he might any other of his poor countrymen; but after hearing him speak of God in the marvellous manner in which he was accustomed, and with that profound knowledge of spiritual things which distinguished him, he was filled with astonishment; and, when his guest took his leave, he said to those who were present, 'That man is a saint; and one day, I am convinced, he will be the founder of a religious order.'

But of this Ignatius himself had a Divine foreknowledge, as appears from an incident which occurred during one of his visits to Flanders, and which was afterwards formally attested in the process of his canonisation. He was dining with some merchants at Antwerp, who vied with each other in entertaining so honoured a guest, when, fixing his eyes on a young man in the party whose name was Pedro Quadrato, from Medina del Campo, he drew him aside and said that, seeing he was one day to be a great benefactor to his company, it was fitting that they should be friends at once, and that he should know that he was under infinite obligations to God for having chosen him to be the founder in his own country of a college for the Society of Jesus. These words of the Saint's, and the manner in which they were uttered, left a deep impression on the young man's mind; and at length the time came when the counsel was followed, the prediction fulfilled, and Pedro Quadrato, and his wife Francesca Mansona, founded a college of the Society at Medina del Campo. The lady, it is said, never failed to repeat the story of the prophecy when in company with any member of the order.

This incident probably occurred at the table of Johann Cuellar, a great friend of the Saint, with whom he was used to take up his abode ; and at no distant date a house might be seen at Antwerp, opposite to the collegiate church of St. James, which in former times belonged to that merchant, and which tradition affirmed to have been the very house in which Ignatius lodged. At the angle of the wall, under an image of the Saint, was an inscription in commemoration of this fact.

The summer of 1529 was now past, and on October 1, 1529. in the same year, Ignatius commenced his course of philosophy, at the College of St. Barbara, under a professor named Peña. But he was not long to be left in peace. The tempest was lulled for a season only to burst forth again with more than its former fury. The first trials which befel him were of the same kind as those from which he had suffered at Barcelona ; for no sooner did he begin to give his mind to the subject of which the professor was treating, than it was invaded by such a throng of spiritual reflections that he was unable to attend. But his former experience taught him the nature of the illusion, and he expelled it by means of the remedies he had applied before. So also, when discussing philosophical questions with Peter Faber—one of his companions, who shared his room—he would wander off into spiritual discourse and be lost amidst the joys of Divine contemplation, to the great hindrance of his studies, until he made an agreement with Faber that such topics should never be mentioned between them when they were occupied with their books.

One of his friends, Dr. Frago, seeing the repose he now enjoyed and the absence of all hostilities on the part of his adversaries, congratulated him upon the happy change ; but the Saint replied, ‘ They leave me in peace because I do so little now for my neighbour’s salvation ; but wait till I set to work again, and then see what will happen.’ While they were still talking together, a monk came up, who begged Dr. Frago to help him in finding another lodging, because several persons had died in the house where he was staying

Frago.

The alarm
of plague.

of what was apprehended to be the plague, which had just made its appearance in Paris. The doctor sent an experienced nurse to the place, who reported that it really was that terrible disease. Upon this Ignatius went to the house, and finding there a sick man lying, he consoled and relieved him, dressing his sores. But soon after, feeling a violent pain in one of his hands, he supposed he had taken the infection, and so great a dread seized hold upon him that he seemed unable to shake it off. Then, with a strong effort of his will, he put his hand into his mouth, and kept it there awhile, saying, 'If you have the plague in your hand, you shall have it in your mouth also.' With this his fears entirely vanished, and his hand at the same time was freed from pain. When it became known in the College of St. Barbara, where he then resided, that he had been in an infected house, every one fled at his approach, and he was obliged to betake himself for some time to a lodging in the town. His return to the college was signalised by an event which marked a crisis in his fortunes.

Exhorta-
tions
resumed.

On commencing his philosophical course, Ignatius had resolved, in order to have more time at his disposal, and also to avoid provoking opposition, to confine his attention to the spiritual advancement of such companions as he had already attached to himself, and not endeavour to gain others until he had taken his degrees. But the desire which possessed him to win souls to God would not allow him to remain perfectly passive. He continued, as before, to speak to his fellow-students on subjects which concerned their eternal interests; and the consequence was that, when the classes were over, they would gather about him and take lessons in that celestial philosophy of which he was so gifted a teacher. As they listened to his entrancing discourse, so logical and so persuasive, they felt themselves under the influence of a master mind enlightened by the Spirit of God. They began to lose their zest for other pursuits; and the schools seemed flat and sterile, as compared with those divine deductions which Ignatius drew in copious streams from out the very heart of the Gospel of truth.

This state of feeling soon made itself apparent to the authorities. It was a custom at the college for the students to

hold public disputations every feast day, by way of exercise, and in order to enable the masters to judge of their proficiency. But since Ignatius had introduced a deeper spirit of devotion, numbers of young men frequented the sacraments on those days, and passed in the church the time which they had been accustomed to spend in the schools. Peña was highly provoked, and told Ignatius several times that he had better attend to his own business, and not interfere with the other students, unless he wished to have him for his enemy. But finding that his remonstrances were useless, he addressed himself to Govéa, who (as will be remembered) was rector of the college. Govéa, who had conceived an aversion to Ignatius ever since the affair of the young Biscayan, took up the matter warmly, and resolved to inflict a suitable castigation on one whom he regarded as the pest of the University.

Zeal of the
young
students.

Govéa's
indigna-
tion.

It was a usage of the time that any student who made himself particularly obnoxious by his insolent or disorderly conduct should receive a public flagellation in the college hall. The masters and students assembled at the sound of a bell, and the masters seizing the culprit, struck him with rods in the presence of the undergraduates, who were obliged to attend. The punishment in itself might be more or less severe, but the infamy that attached to it was so great that anyone who had undergone it was considered to be excluded from the pale of academical society. This was the degradation to which the rector and Peña agreed to subject Ignatius, as the most effectual means of rendering him an object of contempt to his fellow-students, and compelling him to quit the University. Some of his friends informed him of what awaited him whenever he set foot again within the college bounds. For an instant his eyes flashed with indignation, and his spirit within him revolted at the thought of such ignominious treatment, but the next, reproaching himself with his want of courage, he mastered the rising passion. 'Ass that thou art,' he said to himself, 'it is vain for thee to kick against the pricks! Forward, and get thee on, or I will drag thee to the spot!' He then directed his steps towards St. Barbara's, and, as he entered, the gates were closed behind him, and the bell began to ring. He desired

Interview
with
Govéa.

to see the Rector, who had not yet left his rooms, and, being admitted, addressed him at once in a tone of earnest expostulation:—‘As far as I am myself concerned,’ he said, ‘I should desire nothing better than to bear stripes and shame for the sake of Jesus Christ, as indeed I have already borne imprisonment and chains, and have never uttered a word in self-exculpation, nor would I allow any advocate to plead on my behalf. But now it is not my interest or honour only that is at stake, but the eternal salvation of numerous souls, who will be scandalised in me, and thereby be imperilled. And I ask you,’ he continued, ‘whether it be an act of Christian justice to permit a man to be publicly disgraced whose only crime it is to have laboured to make the name of Jesus better known and loved? Is it right—as you would answer before God—to put this open shame upon me solely with a view of detaching from me those whom I have drawn to myself only that I might bring them to God?’ As he uttered these words, the rector’s eyes seemed opened, and for a moment tears were his only answer. Then, taking Ignatius by the hand, he led him into the hall where the masters and students were already gathered; and there, before them all, the good man threw himself on his knees at the Saint’s feet, and entreated him to pardon the insult he had offered him, and to pray for him that God would forgive the offence he had committed against Him in the person of His servant.

The result.

Thus, what was designed by his enemies for his confusion, served only to increase his credit and influence; in fact, it raised him at once to a position such as he had never before occupied, and eventually produced important consequences. For many years afterwards, when the Society had become a religious order, it was this same Govéa who petitioned the King of Portugal, Joam III., to employ the companions of Ignatius in the conversion of the Indies; and thus an occurrence which seemed at first to be fraught with disastrous consequences to the Saint’s designs, was instrumental in sending St. Francis Xavier and his heroic followers to the Eastern world.

The opinion of a man so highly regarded as the Rector—an opinion expressed with such singular demonstrations of

respect—could not fail to render Ignatius the object of general notice, and greatly to swell the numbers of his disciples. Masters, as well as scholars, listened willingly to him. Peña himself, his jealous enemy, not only sought his friendship, but held him ever after in the highest reverence, as also did Moscoso and De Vallo, chief lecturers in the University, and in particular Martial, the professor of theology. The last, indeed, amazed at the extraordinary insight into Divine things which his friend possessed, and feeling what fresh lights he was himself deriving every day from his intercourse with so profound a theologian, would have had him take his degree of doctor in theology even before he had completed his course of philosophy; but this, in his humility, Ignatius refused to do. The circumstance, however, is a significant commentary on the sentence passed at Alcalá, by which he was prohibited from teaching Christian doctrine because he had not sufficiently studied the science of theology.

In the summer of 1530, Ignatius came to London. That 1530.
year was a fatal one to England. The question of the divorce was agitating not this country alone, but the whole Christian world. The most celebrated Universities were consulted on the subject, and by means of bribery and intrigue, not to say open violence, favourable answers, real or pretended, were obtained from Oxford and Cambridge, as well as from Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara. In Germany, however, no one public body, including even Protestant consistories, could be induced to espouse the cause of Henry—perhaps, not to displease the Emperor Charles—and at Paris the different faculties, despite the known wishes and expressed commands of Francis, remained decidedly hostile, until by dexterous management a plurality of voices was secured in a single instance, and an attested copy of the vote thus extracted was forwarded to England, and published by Henry as the free and formal decision of the whole University. To a menacing remonstrance dictated by Henry, but which purported to come from the English nation, Pope Clement replied that he was ready to show the King every indulgence compatible with justice, but that he would not

Divorce
of Henry
VIII.

violate the immutable commandments of God. Henry was embarrassed, and even declared in private his intention of abandoning his purpose, when he was confirmed in his resolution by the unscrupulous counsels of one bold, bad man.

Thomas Cromwell, who had already enriched himself by the plunder of the lesser monasteries, and who ere long was to amass great wealth by wholesale sacrilege, sought the royal presence, determined (in his own words) to 'make or to mar.' 'The King's difficulties,' he said, 'arose from the timidity of his advisers. The learned and the Universities had pronounced in favour of the divorce—was so great a sovereign to be thwarted in his rights by a Roman pontiff? Let him imitate the princes of Germany, who had thrown off the yoke of Rome, and, with the authority of Parliament, declare himself the head of the Church within his own realm. His supremacy once recognised, the prelates, sensible that their lives and fortunes were at his disposal, would become the obsequious ministers of his will.' To this advice Henry lent a ready ear, and from that moment the severance of England from the communion of the Church may be said to have been already in intention consummated.

The reports of this apostacy must have been as gall and wormwood to the heart of Ignatius, filling it at once with a righteous indignation at the wickedness of Henry and his counsellors, and with a consuming pity for a noble people. And, peradventure, as he knelt in prayer before Our Lady's picture near the Tower, or traversed deep in meditation the long line of road that led to Tyburne, the veil of the future may have been lifted for a moment, and his prescient eye have foreseen the day, and gloried in the thought, when his heroic sons, with others as brave and good, would encounter the ignominy and all the frightful horrors of a traitor's doom, rather than stoop to acknowledge, by word or sign, a supremacy as much opposed to the rightful liberties of a Christian man as to the inalienable prerogatives of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. No memory has been bequeathed to us of what befel the Saint during the short sojourn he made in this island; we are left therefore to our own conjectures. That he would visit the famous and not yet desecrated shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, either on his way to London

Crom-
well's
advice.

Ignatius
in London.

or on his return to France, we may regard as well-nigh certain; and as more certain still that he would go sometimes to pray at the tomb of St. Edward the Confessor in the abbey church of Westminster. It is probable, too, that he was hospitably received at the Charter-house by the Carthusian monks, whose brethren in Paris were amongst his closest friends, and who ere long would, with one unhappy exception, choose death in its most revolting forms rather than admit Henry's impious claim. Some were hanged under circumstances of peculiar atrocity; the rest were left to perish of disease and starvation in prison.¹ With all these devoted men Ignatius had probably held conference on the miseries and dangers of the time. His chief haunts would be the houses of the Spanish merchants, who at that time clustered together near the river, in the neighbourhood of Old Broad Street, where the Spanish ambassador occupied what was called Winchester House. One thing only we know as a historical fact, that amongst his countrymen in London the Saint met with more generous benefactors than he had found even in the Flemish towns.

Martyrdom of the Charter-house monks.

After the first three years, he was relieved from the necessity of taking such long and troublesome journeys, by the charity of the Flemish merchants, who, having acquired a more intimate knowledge both of his needs and of his virtues, adopted measures by which their contributions were paid into his hands at Paris. By means of these resources and of monies which he occasionally received from his friends in Spain, not only were his own necessities supplied, but he was enabled to provide for several of his companions as well as for a number of poor persons.

¹ The fact is thus communicated to Cromwell by Bedyll, one of the Visitors:—‘It shall please your lordship to understand that the monks of the Charterhouse here at London, committed to Newgate for their treacherous behaviour continued against the King's grace, be almost despatched by the hand of God, as may appear by this bill enclosed. Wherefore, considering their behaviour, and the whole matter, I am not sorry, but would that all such as love not the King's highness, and his worldly honour, were in like case. There be departed, Greenwood, Davye, Salte, Pierson, Greene. There be at the point of death, Sonisen, Reading. There be sick, Jonson, Horne. One is whole, Bird.

It may have occurred to the reader to enquire whether Ignatius had held any communication with his own family all this time, since the day on which he sent back his brother's servants from Navarrette, when on his way to Monserrato. From the following letter, bearing date, 'Paris, 1532,' we learn that he had written to Don Martin shortly before, and had received his reply :—

Letter
to his
brother,
1532.

You tell me (he writes) that you are greatly rejoiced at my breaking silence at last, but you need not be surprised at the course I adopted. A deep wound requires different treatment at first from what it does after a while, and when it is nearly healed. And so that which would have been injurious to me at one time, I was able to do without harm at another. To say the whole truth, I would have written to you five or six years ago, but for two things that prevented me. The first was my studies and my numerous connections, and those not of a worldly kind. The second was, that I had no reason to suppose that my letters would promote the glory of God, or the good of my friends and relatives, according to the flesh, to the end we might aid one another in the things which endure for ever. In very truth, I can love no one in this life except in and for God; seeing that God loves no one with His whole heart who loves anything whatever for itself and not for Him. When two persons, one of whom is allied to us and the other is not, equally serve God, He is pleased that we shall feel more affection for our relative or our benefactor than for him who is neither one nor the other. The charity without which we cannot attain to life is called love; and it is by this that we love the Lord our God for Himself, and all other things for His sake also. It is my great desire, and more than my great desire (if I may so express myself), that this true charity should become perfect in you, and in all my relatives and friends, and that you should consecrate all your powers to the service and praise of God our Lord, so that I may love you and serve you ever more and more; for to serve the servants of my Master is my triumph and my glory. And it is this same love that constrains me to declare that I desire with all my heart to be admonished and corrected with sincerity, and not out of a vain mundane glory. For a man to expend all his care and solicitude in building and enlarging houses, increasing his revenues and his state, and leaving a great name behind him—it is not for me to condemn him; but neither do I commend him; since, as St. Paul says, we ought to use this world as if we used it not. If peradventure, as I trust, you know these things, even though but in

part, I conjure you by the fear and love of God to strive to obtain glory in heaven and a good remembrance before the Lord, who will one day be our judge. For He has given you temporal goods in abundance, to the end you might acquire heavenly goods, and give your children, your servants, and all those of whom you have the charge, good example and salutary lessons, with likewise just guidance, doing much good to the poor, to orphans and to all who are in need. It behoves us not to be niggardly to others, seeing that God our Lord has been so bountiful to us. So much rest and so much good shall we have hereafter as we have procured for others here; and as you can do much in the country where you live, I conjure you again and again, by the Love of our Lord Jesus Christ, to endeavour, not only to think of these things, but to will and to do them.

Later in the same year, the Saint wrote to Doña Isabel Roser, to console her for the loss of one who was dear to her; and to fortify her under the many trials to which she was subjected on account of her devout life. The letter is not uninteresting :—

To Isabel
Roser.

To my Sister in Christ our Lord, Isabel Roser, at Barcelona.

By Dr. Benet I received three letters from your hand, and twenty ducats. May God our Lord reckon them to you in the day of judgment, and repay you for me, as I hope in His Divine goodness He will do, in good and sterling coin.

In your first letter you say that the will of God our Lord has been accomplished in the removal of Las Canillas to another land, and her separation from you in this life. In truth, I cannot feel sorry for her, but for ourselves, who remain behind in this place of endless toil, and trouble, and misery; for as in this life I knew her to be loved and cherished by her Creator and Lord, I readily believe she will be received and welcomed by Him, and will care little for the palaces, pomps, riches, and vanities of this world. You write me also the excuses of our sisters in Christ our Lord; they owe me nothing, but I am their debtor for ever.

In your second, you tell me of your late illness, and the great pain you still suffer. Truly, I cannot help feeling sorry for you from my heart, for I wish you all the good and prosperity imaginable, which can further in you the glory and service of God our Lord. Yet, when I consider that these illnesses and other temporal misfortunes are very often from the hand of God, in order that we may better understand, and better lose the love of created things,

and more entirely feel how short this life of ours is, in order to adorning ourselves for the other which lasts for ever, when I reflect that in these things He visits those whom He loves much, I cannot feel sorrow or pain ; for I think that a servant of God in an illness rises half a doctor, in order to direct and order his life to the glory of God our Lord.

In your third letter you tell me with what snares, artifices, and falsehoods you have been environed on all sides. Nothing surprises me in this, not even if it had been much greater ; for from the hour you determined to seek with all your power the glory, honour, and service of God, you offered battle to all the world, you raised your standard against it, you set yourself to tilt at all high things, embracing lowly ones, striving to take equally the high and the low, honour and dishonour, riches and poverty, the agreeable and the disagreeable, the precious and the vile—in fine, the glory of the world and all its injuries. We cannot much regard the insults of the world when they do not go further than words, for these cannot hurt a hair of our heads ; offensive, injurious, and violent words no longer cause either pain or pleasure when they are desired. If we desire to be praised and honoured by our neighbours, we cannot be well rooted in God our Lord ; nor is it possible to remain unwounded when affronts are offered us. If, therefore, I was glad that the world should reproach you, I was quite as sorry at the thought that you should be seeking for remedies by way of antidote to all your misfortunes, pains, and troubles.

May it please the Mother of God to obtain for you a perfect patience and constancy, considering the greater injuries and insults which Christ our Lord suffered for us ; and that, without sin in others, still greater humiliations may befall you, that you may gain more and more merit. If we find not this patience in us, we have reason to complain of our own carnal state, and that we are not as mortified and dead to earthly things as we ought to be, and not of those who injure us ; for they do but give us means of gaining greater treasures and riches than any man can heap together in this world.

From Paris, November 10, 1532.

I see in Artenga, and in many persons of Alcalá and Salamanca, a great constancy in the service of God our Lord, to whom be infinite thanks therefor. I have written, as you bade me, to La Gralla, about peace ; and the letter goes in that to Pascoal, as also to La Zepilla.¹

¹ This was probably the Señora Rocaberti.

On the 13th of March Ignatius took his degree of licentiate, after passing the examination, which was called the 'petra' or 'rigorosum,' because of its severity. The fee which was paid by every candidate was a golden crown, and there were also exactions in the shape of perquisites to different officials; all which made the charge so high, that poor scholars were unable to defray the expense. Ignatius himself hesitated for some time whether he should try for the degree under such conditions, but left the matter at last to the judgment of Peña, who advised him to proceed. He alludes to the degree he had taken, and the heavy payments he had been obliged to make, in a letter to Doña Iñez Pascoala, where also we find allusions to several of his Barcelona friends :—

1533.
Taking a
Degree.

Although I have answered your letter, I have thought to write you this as well, because I know you much wish me to do so; as also in order to pursue my studies better than I have hitherto been able; for this Lent I have become a Master, and have had to expend in unavoidable ways more than my degree required, or I could afford; and having been thus much burdened, there is great need that God our Lord should assist you. To this end I wrote to La Zepilla, who, in a letter she sent me, offered in the handsomest manner (*en gran manera*) to assist me with all her power, begging me to tell her whatever I had need of. I wrote also to Isabel Roser, but not to ask her for anything; for she told me in a letter I must not wonder at her being no longer able to provide for me as she would wish, on account of her own great necessities. I do not doubt it; and I can safely say that she has done more for me than she was well able, and that I owe her accordingly more than I shall ever be able to repay. I think you ought not to let her know anything of the straits in which I am, in order not to distress her for not having been able to assist me when I left. The wife of Mosen Gralla made many offers to help me in my studies, and she has always done so. Doña Isabel de Sosa also offered, and Doña Aldonza de Cordova, who has already helped me. To these three I do not write, in order not to appear importunate; I beg you to commend me much to them. As to La Gralla, I think that when she is made aware, she will wish to contribute to the alms which are sent me. In her case, and that of the others, you will do as appears best to you; for I shall always hold that to be best, and shall always be content; for I am still your debtor, and must ever remain your debtor. The bearer of this will inform you more fully

To Iñez
Pascoala.

of all things here ; and you may trust him in everything as much as myself. Of Juan, your son, and in love my true brother in the Lord, who is our everlasting Judge, I desire much that you would write to me how it fares with him ; for you must know I cannot but rejoice at his good, and grieve at the contrary. May it please God our Lord to give him grace to have perfect knowledge of Himself, and feel the Divine Majesty within his soul, that, made captive by His love and grace, he may be detached from all created things. I conclude by praying God, in His infinite goodness, that He would make you in this life like to that blessed mother and her son, St. Augustine. Commend me much to those in your neighbourhood who are known and loved in Christ our Lord.

From Paris, June 13, 1533.

1534.

On the 14th of March, 1534, Ignatius proceeded to the degree of Master, after passing with credit the regular examination before the Faculty of Arts. The diploma, which is still preserved in the Roman College, is in the following terms :—

To all who shall peruse these Presents, the Rector and the University of Paris greeting, in Him who is the Salvation of all men.

Seeing that all who profess the Catholic faith are bound, as well by natural justice as by the precept of the Divine law, to render faithful witness to the truth, much more does it behove that ecclesiastics, professors of divers sciences, who seek the truth in all things, and instruct and inform others therein, should neither for love nor favour, nor for any other motive whatsoever, deviate from the rectitude of truth and reason. Wherefore we, desiring herein to render witness to the truth, do, by the tenour of these presents, make known to all and every whom it concerns, that our well-beloved and discreet Dom Ignatius de Loyola, of the diocese of Pamplona, Master of Arts, hath laudably and honourably obtained the degree of Master in the illustrious Faculty of Arts at Paris, after rigorous examinations duly passed, according to the statute and customs of the aforesaid Faculty of Arts, and with the usual formalities, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and thirty-four, after Easter. In witness whereof, we have ordered our great seal to be affixed to these presents.

Given at Paris, in our general congregation, solemnly held at St. Mathurin, in the said year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and thirty four, on the fourteenth day of the month of March.

Few persons, it must be confessed, have pursued knowledge under greater difficulties than did Ignatius Loyola. By natural temperament, as well as by long habit, indisposed to studious application, he both mastered the rudiments of a liberal education and earned an honourable distinction in letters, not like others in the days of supple youth or hopeful early manhood, but in staid middle life ; for at the time he took his degree in philosophy, he had probably entered into his forty-fourth year ; at an age, therefore, when the mind is more capable of applying its powers and utilizing its stores, than of adapting itself to new forms and acquiring new resources. Poor and dependent, he endured hardships and submitted to humiliations such as would have broken the spirit or exhausted the patience of ordinary men ; and all this drudgery he went through for no earthly advantage, for none of those rewards which are reckoned among the objects of a laudable ambition. Had it been otherwise, had he laboured for the interests of science, or of literature, or of material progress—had he even but competed successfully for some of those rich prizes which the world has in its gift—the energy and industry of the man would have been the theme of universal panegyric. But Ignatius laboured only for God ; and the world makes no account of that which is done only for Him who created it. It has refused Ignatius, therefore, even that fair meed of praise which is due to a noble resolution and a courageous perseverance ; it has denied or disparaged his intellectual powers.

But such was not the estimation in which Ignatius was held at the University of Paris, or by his contemporaries generally ; for, besides the supernatural virtues which he eminently displayed, he gave indisputable proofs of being possessed of great natural gifts, both intellectual and moral, and great force of character, together with a wonderful insight into the minds and dispositions of others. The influence he exercised was of no ordinary kind. With a tact which never seemed to fail him, he accommodated himself, so far as was allowable, to the capacities and inclinations of those with whom he conversed, condescending to their weaknesses and prejudices with an indulgent ingenuity, affecting not to observe any affronts that might be offered him, and

conciliating his bitterest opponents by his modesty and frankness. Having thus gained their friendship and their confidence, he would lead them on almost insensibly to the practice of the highest virtues. By such arts as these (says Maffei), as well as by his saintly example, not only were numbers of young men brought from the road of perdition into the way of life, but a desire of evangelical perfection was kindled in many hearts; and not a few of those who were attracted to him, and knew him best, abandoned the world and entered the religious state upon his leaving Paris. In like manner he won over to the true faith many who had been led astray by the errors of the times; and, having instructed and prepared them with much care, he brought them to discreet confessors, by whom they were reconciled to the Church without exciting needless observations.

It came to his knowledge that an unhappy man, probably a Spaniard, was engaged in an illicit amour with a married woman, and in constant danger of losing both life and soul together. Warnings and remonstrances having proved ineffectual, the Saint adopted another expedient. Ascertaining that, on his way to visit the object of his guilty passion, he had to cross a bridge over the lake of Gentilly, Ignatius repaired to the spot in the dusk of the evening, and, taking off his clothes, stationed himself in the water up to his neck, awaiting the moment when the infatuated man should pass over. It was winter, and the water icy cold; and the Saint passed the time praying God with tears to have mercy on this madman, who had no mercy on his own soul. Absorbed in the thought of his criminal purpose, the adulterer neared the bridge, when he was startled by a voice from the water, which was vehement in its earnestness. 'Go,' it said, 'and enjoy your odious pleasures at the peril of your life and of your immortal soul. I, meanwhile, will do penance for your sin. Here you will find me when you return; and here every evening until God, whom I shall never cease imploring, shall bring your crimes, or my life, to an end.' At these words, and still more at the sight, he beheld the man stand abashed and confounded; his heart relented; a strong feeling of compunction seized him; he abandoned his guilty purpose; went back; changed his whole course of life; and

Ignatius'
converts.

from that hour looked upon Ignatius as his preserver, who had delivered him from a double death.

The expedient he adopted to rescue one who was both a priest and a monk from a scandalous life was no less efficacious. After consulting God in prayer, as on all such occasions he never failed to do, he went one Sunday morning, and kneeling at the feet of this unworthy priest, confessed to him all the sins of his past life, and with such humility and contrition, and with such expressions of self-detestation, as were well calculated to arouse similar feelings in the breast of his hearer. As Ignatius proceeded, the confessor was led to feel how much more heinous were the offences of which he, a priest and a religious, was habitually guilty, than were the sins, long since repented of, which this layman was detailing with such bitter self-reproach. The grief he witnessed moved his own heart to sorrow, and filled it with remorse; and hardly was the confession ended, when he began to disclose to his penitent the miserable state of his own soul, and besought him, as he had contributed to bring him to a sense of his wicked life, so he would show him how effectually to amend it. This was what Ignatius desired. He conducted his new convert through a course of the 'Spiritual Exercises,' and so completely finished the work he had begun, that he, who was lately a scandalous sinner, became the model of a true penitent.

A third instance shows how adroitly Ignatius availed himself of every means by which he could save a soul, and in what extraordinary ways his zeal was blessed by God. Going one day to the house of a French gentleman, a doctor of theology, he found him engaged in playing at billiards. He was courteously received, and either by way of compliment, or more probably out of mere jest, invited to play a game. Ignatius, who had never touched a mace in his life, at first excused himself, but, as the other persisted in his request, the Saint, yielding as it seemed to an inward movement, replied, 'I will consent, but a poor man like me has nothing he can stake, and yet a stake there must be. Now I have nothing I can call my own, except my own person. If, then, I lose, I will be your servant for a month, to obey your orders. If I win, you shall do just one thing for me, and it

shall be something to your advantage.' 'Agreed,' said the master of the house, and the game began. Ignatius struck the ball at random, but his hand seemed to be directed by a supernatural power. He gained every point, and his defeated antagonist asked in astonishment what he would have him to do. Ignatius required him to go through the 'Exercises' for a month, and the result was such as the Saint, or rather, God Himself, had designed, the sanctifying of a soul which had hitherto been steeped in sin.

1530.
Peter
Faber, or
Lefèvre.

In the year 1530 Ignatius shared his room with a scholar whom we have already named, Peter Faber, then twenty-four years of age, who, doubtless, excelled in secular knowledge as Ignatius did in that of the inward life; for he had already taken his doctor's degree, and was said to rival their teacher Peña himself in the exposition of Aristotle. He was the son of a good and pious peasant, living at Villaret, in the diocese of Geneva, from whom he learned the lessons of the Gospels; these fell on such good soil, that the boy soon became a missionary among his companions; and in Bartoli's days, a stone was still pointed out near Villaret, upon which he was accustomed, while yet a young child, to climb up and preach thence to the country people on the mysteries of the Christian faith. His first years were spent in keeping his father's sheep; by his earnest entreaties, he obtained at last permission to study, and was placed with an excellent man, one Peter Vellardo, who devoted himself to teaching rather for the sake of saving the young souls confided to him than for any profit to himself; and he used so great caution in the instruction of the classics, lest the innocence of his pupils should be corrupted, that Faber afterwards said, 'the pages seemed purified as they passed through his lips.' At twelve years old, Faber made a vow that he would devote himself to the service of God; but in what manner, he did not yet decide nor foresee. When he had accomplished himself in all of the humanities that he could be taught in Savoy, his father was unwilling that he should pursue these studies further; liking neither a separation from a son so beloved, nor the expense of sending him to Paris. But a kinsman.

aber sent
Paris.

Don George Faber, who was prior of a Carthusian monastery at Reque, so enforced the wishes of Peter, by his persuasions, that the father at last placed him at St. Barbara, under Juan de Peña, who conceived a strong affection for him, and would sometimes appeal to him in his lectures upon Aristotle in discussing some difficult passage. Faber received the degree of Doctor on the same day as Francis Xavier; he was about to commence the study of theology at the time when Ignatius entered the College. The date given in the archives of St. Barbara is March 15, 1529; but counting the year from Easter Day, this would be 1530, as we should now call it.

Faber and Xavier receive the Doctor's degree, 1530.

Ignatius, as yet only beginning his studies in philosophy, was confided by Peña, who had now become greatly interested in him, to the care of Faber, whose charge it was to explain to him privately the lessons they heard together in the classes. They thus became intimately acquainted, though there was not for some time an entire unreserve on Faber's side. It appears that Paris had not made Faber more fit for the ecclesiastical calling in a moral sense, nor his profound learning taught him to disentangle himself entirely from the world. His vow of celibacy pressed hard upon him; he liked dainty food; and he accused himself of a vain complacency in the social flatteries he received. Perhaps the ladies of Paris were remarkable then, as now, among their sex for their fascinations; and they harassed the dreams of honest Faber.

A worldly counsellor might have suspected that he had mistaken his vocation, and wished him released from the childish vows he had made on the hill-side of Villaret; but the sagacity of Ignatius saw the resources of energy and piety in Faber's mind, and already destined him for his companion; he soothed him, and led him on kindly through two years of indecision and combat; then guided him through the four weeks of the 'Exercises;' and, after solemn examination of his own heart, and the will of God respecting him, Faber was ready and desirous to receive ordination into the priesthood.

Faber's indecision.

Ignatius at this time disclosed to him some part of his own hopes and intentions; and when he spoke of going with

a few faithful labourers to the Holy Land to teach, and perhaps to suffer, where our Lord had taught, Faber threw his arms round his neck, and asked to share with him all his difficulties and toils. 'I will follow you,' said he, 'through life and death.' Loyola gladly accepted this first member of his order, knowing doubtless, though the other did not, how revered the name of Faber would one day become.

Faber's
return to
Villaret.

The young man thought it right now to revisit his parents and ask their blessing upon his new prospects; but when he arrived at home his mother was dead. He remained with his father eight months; not that he looked back, having put his hand to the plough, but because he could do much good there among those who had known and loved him in his childhood. His father at last gave him his benediction, and permission to follow wherever he believed that God's will led him. The good Peter would take away with him nothing else. He bade farewell to the kind old man, whom he was to see no more, and arrived in Paris entirely destitute; so that he only continued his studies on the alms which his friend Ignatius begged for him.

The un-
happy
wayfarer.

One day Ignatius, walking with Faber near Paris, passed on the road a poor man, who seemed overwhelmed with grief; he was about, they thought, to destroy himself. Ignatius agreed with his companion what they would do. Faber returned, and accosted the man, as one seeming as miserable as himself. 'I too,' said he, 'am assailed by enemies, and have to struggle against perpetual opposition and heavy burdens; like you, I think I shall have no rest in this life, and wish for death as a release.' Then Ignatius came up, and, as if overhearing their discourse, said to Faber, 'You seem unhappy.' Upon this, a conversation commenced between them, by which, as they intended, the poor stranger profited. He turned back with them, and, doubtless, from this time his griefs were no longer intolerable.

The 'Spiritual Exercises' of St. Ignatius, contained in a very small volume,¹ are strictly exercises, not simply meditations or prayers. They require an effort of application and will on the part of him who makes them, and a great measure of discernment and prudence, with a high degree of what the world calls talent, as well as pious fervour in him who conducts.

The
'Spiritual
Exercises.'

They were not completed at once; Ignatius himself said that he wrote them in fragments, as his own experience suggested what was useful for others. He had in this way written the method of examination of conscience; and in the manner of election he recalled what had been the contest of the good and evil spirits within himself, while he was lying on his bed at Loyola.

Whoever would understand these 'Exercises' must go through them with a full and docile desire to appropriate them on his own behalf. He will then learn, by God's grace, the wonderful power which they contain under the extremest simplicity of language.

They cannot be made of solitary use; they need a certain adaptation to each one's character or circumstances, and judgment along with zeal in the director. Besides these qualities, some particular gift seems necessary; for Ignatius found only Faber, out of all his associates, completely possessed of it. Next to him he estimated Salmeron; then Villanova and Dominec; and for the first part, which is designed to inspire repentance in the soul and a horror of sin, he greatly estimated the eloquence and fervour of Francis Strada.

The 'Exercises' extended at first over more than four weeks; they are often now condensed into one. At the commencement Ignatius has placed the few lines which he meant to be the foundation and the summary of the whole:—

'Man is created to praise, honor, and serve God, and thus to save his own soul. All other things are created for the sake of man, and to aid him in the attainment of his end and destiny; therefore he should use them only with this object, and avoid them when they would lead him away. We must make ourselves indifferent to all

¹ So small that Francis Xavier said it had converted more souls than it contained letters.

created things, where a choice is left us ; so that we should not desire health more than sickness, riches than poverty, honor than contempt, a long life than a short one, and so of all the rest ; desiring and choosing only what will conduce most surely to the end for which we were made.'

This first truth, thoroughly examined and applied, the mind is solicited to resolve henceforward to use all creatures as the means of salvation. We consider, therefore, the danger of any other course ; we survey our past life, with all its errors ; we meditate on the enormity of sin ; the punishment of hell ; the angels eternally condemned ; the offence of Adam ; the long train of his descendants who have been justly sentenced to banishment from God. Then, with some beginning of detachment from the world, and our own evil propensities, we enter on the second week, and consider the sovereignty that Christ claims in our souls ; the appeal He makes to us, as a king to his subjects, to engage us in His service ; the inducements with which He invites us, far differing from those of any temporal monarch ; for He promises to treat His servants as Himself, and that He will call on them to do or to suffer only as He has set them an example. Ignatius then places before us the alternative of heaven or hell in that admirable meditation called 'Of the two standards,' which is said to have peopled so many monasteries, where, with military memories, he represents Christ as a royal warrior, seeking to enlist all men in His service ; Lucifer, His rebellious enemy, crafty, and striving to attract us to himself. Then, when we have seen the hollowness of all the temptations offered to us by the devil, we are led to contemplate the mysteries of our Saviour's life, and thence to what Ignatius calls 'the three degrees of humility,' of which the first is simply such piety as is indispensable to salvation ; the second brings us nearer to God, in the intercourse of the world, so that the soul dreads even the smallest and most venial sin ; the third implies an absolute renunciation of all that is not God ; the utmost union with Him that may be granted to man ; and this meditation, which, according to the scheme of Ignatius, extends over twelve days, leads us to make our deliberate election of the way of life in which we believe ourselves called on to serve God.

The third week, occupied with the Passion of our Lord, confirms and extends what has gone before.

The fourth, presenting to our minds His glorious resurrection and ascension, and His unbounded love for man, suggests to us how to attain the highest eminence of charity, which has no choice and no affection but in God; and invites us to that self-abandonment which is expressed in this admirable prayer:—

‘Take and receive, O Lord, all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and my will. All that I am, and have, Thou hast given me; O Lord, I give it back to Thee: dispose of all according to Thy good pleasure; give me only Thy love and Thy grace, for this is sufficient for me. Amen.’

Ignatius took much of his rules for spiritual life from the Fathers of the Desert, especially Serapion; the work of Cisneros, who had been Abbot of Monserrato, was certainly known to him, but there is no similarity to give any ground for the accusation of plagiarism. The ‘Exercises’ originated in Manresa, and were perfected by the experience of Ignatius when he began to teach. Whoever uses them must own that only Divine inspiration could have shown Ignatius such secrets of the human heart—such remedies, such stimulants, and such aids. At the beginning of the ‘Spiritual Exercises’ were placed some general instructions, translated by one of the Fathers into Latin verse. We give them here from Mariani’s prose:—

General
instruc-
tions.

Do not argue with anyone, however much your inferior; and, although you are in the right, rather appear the vanquished than the victor. Try to obey blindly in all things, and willingly submit your own judgment, however superior it may be.

Do not remark the faults of others, and cover them when they are seen; search into your own, and be pleased when they are made evident to the world. Whatever you do, say, or think, consider in the first place whether it be for your neighbour’s good, and pleasing in the sight of God.

Preserve always your liberty of mind; see that you lose it not by any one’s authority, nor by any event whatever. Do not lightly bind yourself in friendship with any man: examine first with judgment and discrimination.

Liberty of
mind.

Always exercise the mind or body in good actions. Be a fool in the opinion of man, and so you will be wise before God. Keep these things in your mind day and night; and when you go to rest, protect yourself by prayer.

Faber at
Paris.

Faber, after going through the 'Exercises' we have described, retired to a residence in the Rue St. Jacques, where he was quite alone; but his master often visited him. That winter was so severe that the Seine was frozen, and carts went over it; yet Faber would pass hours in the dead of night praying and looking at the stars, in a little court behind the house. He fasted once for six entire days; and all through the frost he would never go near a fire. Some coals were placed in an outhouse for his use, but he only threw a mat over the heap, and made a bed of it. At last his pallid countenance warned Ignatius that his austerities had become excessive; that watchful guardian bade Faber at once return to his usual food, and kindle a fire. After this, poor Faber's appetite sensibly diminished, and the ordinary fasts were easy to him. He received holy orders in 1534, the year when Henry VIII. separated England from Rome, and celebrated his first mass on the 22nd of July, the feast of St. Magdalen.

Faber be-
comes a
priest.

Faber has been quoted as the most remarkable instance of the power of this wonderful Society over its members, which revealed to him the secret of his own latent energy and talents, and transformed the humble and timid peasant of the Alps into an apostle—his patience into courage—his diffidence into a docility that made him ready to attempt, at his master's bidding, the most difficult enterprise—his simple charity into a lofty and insatiable ambition to save souls. In Germany, Italy, and Spain, he entered the lists against the heresies which placed the Christian faith everywhere in danger, and the demoralisation of all classes, clergy as well as people. Under the inspiration of the strong minds that surrounded him, more daring and equally fervent, his zeal overcame all obstacles, aimed at the most difficult successes, and changed the humility and self-renunciation that would have kept him obscure and of narrow usefulness in Savoy, into a means of victory over the powers of darkness, of which

the world has not ceased to feel the benefit, nor will, perhaps, to the end of time.

But another acquisition was at hand, for which alone Loyola might have thanked God, as the pearl of great price : Francis Xavier, the future apostle of the Indies, the admiration and the blessing of nations, whose career, splendid and innocent from its beginning to its early close, extorts up to this day reverence even from men who believe neither in moral heroism nor in Catholic truth. It seems as if worldly sagacity had grown with spiritual experience in the mind of Ignatius ; for he was disappointed in his early disciples, and he never repeated the mistake. The young men who shared his imprisonment at Salamanca did not follow him to Paris. When he found himself reduced to destitution by the dishonesty of the Spanish scholar, he wrote to tell them of this disaster, and advised them to finish their studies in Spain, unless Calisto could obtain one of the Portuguese bursaries at the University of Paris. He wrote also to Doña Eleanor de Mascarena, asking her to procure this from the King, which she not only did, but gave him money also for the journey. But Calisto, nearer than the others had been to Ignatius, and once so eager for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, left his first love, and pursued earthly riches. He went twice to America, became wealthy, and returned to Salamanca a different and a worse man. Artiaga, though he did not rejoin Ignatius, does not appear to have lost his great reverence for him ; he was sent to America as Comendator, and afterwards became a bishop ; but it seems not wholly just to accuse him of avarice and ambition, since he twice offered to resign his bishopric, that some disciple of Ignatius might take his place. That offer none of the Society could accept. He was poisoned during an illness, by the carelessness of his attendant. The French page, Jean, went into a convent, and died there in peace ; Cazeres returned to Segovia, where he was born ; he lived licentiously, went into the army, and ran through all sorts of adventures ; he was taken up as a spy both in France and England, and so cruelly treated in captivity that he remained lame for the rest of his life.

Francis
Xavier.

But compensation was at hand ; Xavier now shared the

chamber of Ignatius; he was poor, though of high birth; full of talent, passionately fond of learning, kind-hearted, pleasant in all his ways; high souled and ambitious; he disdained what seemed a poor and pusillanimous spirit in Ignatius; and it was long before these noble minds understood each other. Like Ignatius, Francis¹ Xavier was the youngest of several sons, all soldiers except himself. He was born six years after Ignatius, about the time when Vasco de Gama made his first voyage to the East Indies, and seems to have come to Paris about 1526.

1497.

1530.

In October, 1530, after three years' study, Xavier began to lecture publicly on Aristotle; and this he did with such extraordinary skill, that applause which he received complacently attended him from all sides. Loyola, not repulsed by his dislike, took the interest of a friend in his successes; he endeavoured to make his talents appreciated, spoke of him with admiration, and procured him hearers and scholars. Xavier was propitiated; he listened now to the exhortations of Ignatius, and these words of Scripture at last vanquished him,—‘What shall it profit a man, if he should gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?’ This question sinking in all its fulness into his mind, was the turning-point of his existence. Long years afterwards, referring to this same passage, he wrote from India, through Simon Rodriguez, this request to the King of Portugal: ‘That he would consider and apply this one sentence only.’ ‘If I could believe,’ he said, ‘that the King would not repulse my humble and faithful counsels, I would entreat him to meditate daily, were it but for a quarter of an hour, on that Divine sentence, praying for grace to understand it. I would that he ended all his prayers with these words.’

Meanwhile, Don Juan Xavier thought it time his son's studies should finish and their reward begin; the family were not rich, for a letter of Francis to a brother, in which

¹ The name of Xavier came to him through his mother, Doña Maria. It was assumed by his ancestors early in the 13th century, when King Theobald rewarded the services of the Asnarez family by the gift of this castle and estate. His mother had married Juan de Jossé, a distinguished man of letters, and auditor of the Royal Council, who took her name; he stood high in the favour of the King of Navarre.

he speaks of his obligations to Ignatius, mentions also that 'he had supplied him with money,' and kept him from falling, as many did, into the heresies then prevalent at Paris. Juan destined him for the service of the Church, with the hope, entertained till very lately by Francis himself, that some of its highest prizes would be within his reach. He wrote therefore to recall him to Spain; but Francis wished to stay, and this desire was enforced at home by his sister Maddálena, a holy maiden, who had once filled a place in the court of Queen Isabella, and now had retired into the convent of St. Clare, at Gandia. She entreated her family to let him remain till his course of theology was concluded; 'for,' she said, 'God has elected him to be His messenger to the Indies, and a strong pillar of His Church.' This letter was long kept in the family, and many persons saw it.

Xavier's
sister
Maddá-
lena.

Francis remained therefore, and continued to teach and to study. He could not retire from his public work to go through the 'Exercises;' but, in its intervals, the instruction of Ignatius supplied their place. There seems to have been a considerable struggle in his mind before he abandoned himself wholly to the impressions of grace. That his outward life, ever perfectly blameless, was now visible under pious influence, is proved by an incident which about this time had nearly brought Loyola's career to a close. One Michel Navarro, an unworthy companion of Xavier, who had often received assistance from him, jealous of his intimacy with Ignatius, and fearing its consequences for himself, urged on also, probably, by others whose motives were not better than his own, resolved to murder Ignatius. One night, armed with a dagger, he placed a ladder against his window, and ascended, knowing Ignatius would then be alone. Suddenly he heard, or thought he heard, a voice exclaiming, 'Wretched man, where are you going, and what are you about?' Navarro, terror-struck, rushed into the room, fell at Ignatius' feet, and confessed his wicked design. Ignatius was indulgent, and exhorted him with great charity to a better life. Navarro seems to have professed an entire conversion; but this state of mind did not last long.

Michel
Navarro's
attempt to
murder
Ignatius

Laynez
and Sal-
meron
arrive in
Paris.

The fame of Ignatius had now travelled back from Paris to his former friends at Alcalá; and two young men who had studied there, both eminently gifted by nature, and already advanced in philosophy and classics, urged by a strong desire to use these talents for the glory of God, resolved to come to Paris, and continue their studies under the guidance of one whom they heard spoken of as a saint. These two were Diego Laynez, twenty-one years old, a native of Almazan in Castille, destined to be the second general of the Society, and Alfonso Salmeron, of Toledo, already distinguished as a Greek and Hebrew scholar, though only nineteen.

As these young men dismounted at the door of their inn, on their arrival in Paris, it chanced that Ignatius was passing by. Laynez recognised him by description, and addressed him at once. They were received, as was certain to be the case, most kindly, and, having attached themselves to the little company of his disciples, they passed through the 'Exercises' about the same time as Faber.

Bobadilla.

Another bright spirit, which Ignatius had discovered in great humility and poverty, joined them soon after; a poor scholar, though well born, from Valladolid, who, having taught philosophy there with distinction, came to study theology at Paris, and was frequently obliged to ask alms of Ignatius; he, caring at once for soul and body, fed him, and inspired him with a fervent desire to serve Christ. This was Nicholas Alphonso, named Bobadilla,¹ from a village near Valencia, in Leon, where he was born. Perhaps in his daring and original character, Ignatius found something congenial with his own. At this time he was already allied in close friendship with another remarkable scholar, Simon Rodriguez, whose family was noble.² Rodriguez himself had much talent; his exterior was comely and graceful; he was one of those who verified the sagacious remark of Loyola, that they who were best fitted to succeed in the world were also the best and most useful servants of Christ. His long life was eminently serviceable to the Church; his greatest

Rodriguez.

¹ *Semper strenuus, semper et ubique sibi similis Bobadilla.*

² They resided at Buyella, near Viseu, in Portugal; their name was D'Azevedo.

fault was a piety too absorbing and meditative for the business which Loyola proposed to his order; and more than once he incurred his master's displeasure. But he possessed much learning and considerable ability, with such an affectionate indulgence for the young, and such an attraction for those he guided, that it came at last to be an inconvenient influence, and not quite consistent with the rules of the Society.

Rodriguez had always been supposed destined for extraordinary things. When his father, Egidius Gonsalez, was dying, he called his children round him to receive his blessing; looking on Simon, carried in his mother's arms, he said to Doña Caterina, 'Señora, I commend that boy especially to you. I see that God wills him to do great things for His honour.' Caterina ever after considered Simon as consecrated to the service of the Church, and he was trained accordingly. Heaven bestowed on him an angelic innocence, and a fervent zeal. Like many ardent minds of that day, he was bent on visiting the Holy Land, and renewing in another sense the old crusade against the infidels. This was the favourite project that occupied alike Ignatius and himself; and so their hearts soon became united in the closest bonds of Christian charity.

It was not always that Ignatius was so entirely successful: he had an earnest desire to obtain the adhesion of Nadal, a native of Majorca, in whom he discovered uncommon gifts, and employed Faber and Laynez for this purpose; but Nadal repulsed them, and even resisted his confessor, Emmanuel Miona, who was also the director of Ignatius. One day Ignatius sought him out, led him into a small unfrequented church, where there was no chance of interruption, and, beginning to talk with him on religion, showed him a letter he had written to one of his nephews, exhorting him to leave the world and follow Christ. Nadal took a copy of the New Testament from his pocket, and said, 'I hold fast to this book; it is sufficient for me; I will not follow you, unless you have something better than this to offer.' Ignatius, no doubt, endeavoured to convince him that what he offered was, in truth, the purest and most spiritual

gospel teaching; but it was of no avail at that time. Ten years after, Nadal made the discovery for himself.

1534. Hitherto Ignatius had imparted his plans to his disciples with some reserve, and to each he spoke confidentially, desiring they would communicate the substance of their conversations with him to no one; therefore, though well known to one another, sharing the same studies, and sometimes going through the 'Spiritual Exercises' together, and, above all, united by their great love and reverence for Ignatius, they had no foreknowledge of the act that was to form them into an order, or the companions they would join. Faber had already pledged himself; and Ignatius now spoke privately to each of the great work he desired them to begin in earnest, of separating from the world, and living wholly for Christ. He found among them different views and opinions; and bade them therefore prepare themselves for a decision by prayer and fasting. Up to a certain day they were to consider what life they would choose, whereby to glorify God, in saving their own souls and the souls of others; and then they were to come to him, and declare the result of their deliberations. They would find, he said, that there were others willing to work with them. This passed in July, 1534, while Henry VIII. forbade the title of the Pope to be spoken in England, or even printed in a historical work.

First assembly of the companions of Ignatius.

When they were all assembled in the presence of Ignatius—Faber, Xavier, Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez—each meeting the companions whom he would have wished to choose, and thinking himself the only unworthy member of that holy brotherhood—they looked at each other in astonishment; they shed tears of joy; they prostrated themselves to praise and thank God.

Ignatius having made in their behalf a short prayer, told them that he had assembled them in order that they might communicate their wishes and hear his own respecting the journey he had long desired to make to Palestine. His wish, he said, was to return to that country, and devote his life to converting the people to the true faith. For the saving of souls he would die there, if that were permitted him. If any of those present were willing to join him, he would be their

faithful friend as long as he lived. He had resolved to consecrate himself to God by solemn vows of celibacy and poverty, and of serving Him in the Holy Land.

Those who listened to Loyola believed that God spake through his lips, and accepted joyfully the destiny that he offered them: then, entering into details, they debated what they should do if they were hindered (as Ignatius had been) from remaining in Palestine: and it was resolved that they should go to Jerusalem: and if, after awhile, a majority of their number decided that they ought not to leave Syria, they would receive such decision as a token of the Lord's will: but, if they came to the contrary judgment, then they would all repair to Rome, and place themselves at the disposal of the Pope. If they found at Venice no opportunity of transporting themselves to the East, they were to wait there a year, after which time their vow of going to Jerusalem was to be no longer binding. Some of the young men had not concluded their theological studies, and Ignatius, with the patience of perfect sagacity, decreed that they should defer entering on their great enterprise for three years longer. On the 25th of January, 1537, they were to meet at Venice; but the disturbed state of Europe made it impossible to foresee what would probably be the chances of crossing the Mediterranean three years later. All desired to pledge their solemn vows before the altar; and their reverence for the Mother of God made them choose for this ceremony the 15th of August, the day on which the Church commemorates her assumption into Heaven.

Feast of
the As-
sumption,
1534.

Faber's
account.

In a journal that remains of Peter Faber, he gives the following short account of what passed on that memorable day:—‘In this same year, 1534, in August, on the feast of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, we, all of us having come to the same resolution, and made the Spiritual Exercises (Master Francis had not done this yet, though he had the same resolution as ourselves), went to the chapel of Notre Dame, near Paris, and each made a vow to go at the time fixed to Jerusalem, and to place ourselves when we returned in the hands of the Pope; and to leave, after a certain interval, our kinsfolk and our nets, and keep nothing but the money necessary for the journey. At this first meet-

ing were present Ignatius, Master Francis, myself (Faber), Bobadilla, Laynez, Salmeron, Simon, and M. Jean (this was Codure). Le Jay had not yet come to Paris, and Paschasius had not yet been gained. The two following years we all returned on the same day to the same place to renew our resolve, and each time we felt greatly strengthened. Le Jay, Codure, and Paschasius were with us those last two years; all these, I say, were with us the last year (1536).'

1536.

Rodriguez' memory of the day.

Some remembrances of Simon Rodriguez give a few more details; he says, the greatest secrecy was observed at first in their proceedings; they chose, therefore, for the place where they should pronounce their vows a church half a league from Paris, on the hill still called 'Montmartre' (from St. Denis, who is said to have been beheaded there), and dedicated to 'Notre Dame du Mont des Martyrs.' In this choice of place and time they sought her protection; they believed their devotion to the Father and the Son would be more acceptable if offered through the Divine Mother. The seven descended into a crypt beneath the church; Faber, the only priest among them, celebrated mass; and when, previously to giving them holy communion, he turned towards them, holding the body of our Lord in his hand, each in a distinct voice pronounced the vows of poverty, celibacy, obedience to the Pope, and of going to Palestine to convert the infidels; they promised also never to take any money for dispensing the sacraments or any pious work. Then Faber gave them the communion; they received it with such devotion, such joy and fervour of love, that Rodriguez, writing thirty years afterwards, felt his heart glow with ineffable consolation at the remembrance; their souls were inundated with happiness; most of all that of Ignatius, who now saw the object of his long toils and hopes attained.

'When I think of that time,' says the good Father Genelli, 'I seem to witness their acts, to share their hopes and great designs, and to see through the deep shadows of the past a bright ray of heavenly sunshine descend and fill the quiet place with lustrous exultation! In that moment, weighty with the destiny of future years, they must have known that God was with them, preparing them for great deeds and noble victories among a generation sunk in coldness, and the

apathy of inglorious self-love. Never before did so small an army set forth to possess a world ; never one more full of courage.'

None of these men proved less worthy than Ignatius believed them to be ; none ever declined from the fervour of his first vows. They were fulfilling, though then they did not know it, the decrees of Heaven ; for, while they assembled in the crypt of Montmartre, Rainolda of Arnheim predicted to Canisius, her kinsman, then in Flanders, that his son would one day belong to an Order of Jesus, which should be founded for the great profit of the faithful, and especially of Germany ; and Peter Canisius himself was a great helper of this prediction.

Prophecy
of Rain-
olda.

When the new associates left the church, they passed the rest of the day near a fountain, which then sprang from the side of the hill, once stained, it was said, by the blood of St. Denis. They made there a frugal repast, and took sweet counsel together upon the manner of life they should lead during the rest of their stay in Paris. Their spiritual father decided with them on certain practices which they were to observe ; such as daily prayers, meditations, examinations of conscience, frequent communion, reading of the Scriptures, and the 'Imitation of Christ,' the only book besides the Bible which Ignatius seems to have much valued ; so that thus the brethren would be united in spirit, though they could not yet reside together. Their studies were not to be in anywise interrupted ; they were to return to the place in which they were then assembled, and on the same day of the two next years there renew their vows ; they promised to regard each other as brothers ; they were to meet as often as they could, to walk together, and occasionally to assemble in each other's rooms, as the early Christians in their Agapes, where they could feast in their humble way, and speak of God's work, and how to aid each other in it ; and so cultivate, though separated, the charities of a regular life.

As they did this, and went on, throughout what remained of their studies in Paris, striving in the spirit of humility and piety to cultivate all their powers and gifts in their Lord's service, their zeal appeared to enlarge and increase their natural faculties ; they excelled others of the University

in all the objects of their common efforts; and, before they emerged from it, were marked as extraordinary men.

These acquirements were already needed, for the new heresies had gained adherents in Paris; Calvin had returned to study philosophy at the Collège de Montaigu; and, while Ignatius was at St. Barbara, he excited much notice, making many converts to his opinions, and to the great horror of the Sorbonne, even within its walls; for the Rector Cop, lecturing once on the doctrine of justification, so scandalized his audience, that they created an uproar in the streets. Cop hid himself for a time, and then fled from Paris. Calvin was glad to take refuge with a vinedresser in the Faubourg St. Victor, who, giving him his own gown and rake, set him on the road to Nérac, where he was sheltered by Queen Margaret of Navarre.

Francis I., in his zeal for the revival of letters, had, in spite of the remonstrances of the Sorbonne, brought professors of Greek and Hebrew from Germany, who spread the doctrines of Luther and Zwingli. Such professors were needed; for, according to an almost incredible statement of Galland, 'There was not, in the beginning of that reign, a Frenchman who could read Greek or write Latin.'¹ The king's sister, Margaret, instructed, as was supposed, by Roussel, Bishop of Oléron, favoured the Protestants at court; the Sacramentarians affixed their theses at the gates of the Louvre, and even on the doors of the king's apartment in the palace of Blois. Francis professed indeed the greatest horror of all heresy, to which, probably, he was in reality perfectly indifferent; but he encouraged literature, which amused him, and conferred, he thought, a lustre upon his reign by these importations from the infected countries, whose influence he could not entirely neutralise, even when he afterwards endeavoured to suppress it by the most revolting cruelties. Ignatius, therefore, had plenty of occupation

¹ And many years later we hear of Maldonat writing from Paris to Francis Torres, that he wishes the Homilies of St. Cyril may be sent him in Latin, 'because our printers are not willing to undertake Greek.' The partners Stephan printed in 1550 a Greek Testament in beautiful type.

in confirming the waverers, and in confuting the ideas which had taken possession of erratic minds; many, when they heard him, wished to be again secure within the true fold; and these he brought before Valentine Leivin, the inquisitor, that they might be reconciled to the Church.

Three scholars, well known, doubtless, to Loyola, were at Paris at this time, who, after his departure, asked admission into his Society, all eminently worthy of such an honour: Codure, who died young; Claude Le Jay, from Geneva; and Paschasius Brouet, the most lovable of his order, golden-tongued, persuasive; so sweet natured, that Ignatius tells us he was called the angel of the house.¹ Faber, by his right of ordination, and with Ignatius' consent, led them through the 'Exercises' in his absence, and received their vows.²

Codure,
Le Jay,
Brouet.

These successes caused a redoublement of personal austerities in the hard life of Ignatius; he aimed more ardently than ever at Christian perfection, and chose, perhaps, to set an example of self-denial, which he would not enjoin on others; for afterwards he prescribed no severities; he even forbade them, unless expressly allowed by the Superior; but now he would sometimes pass whole days in the church of Notre Dame des Champs, belonging to the Carmelites; he liked to hide himself in the gypsum quarries of Montmartre, which recalled to him his cavern of Manresa. He fasted to excess; and his health, which had never been good since he came to Paris, now failed entirely. He suffered intense pains, which once lasted without intermission sixteen or seventeen hours; he became almost incapable either of study or prayer. Still, he used his wasting powers to the utmost whenever he could do good. Peralta, a professor of the University, who saw much of him at this time, declared that

1534.

Ignatius
resolves to
leave
Paris.

¹ He came from Brétancourt, near Amiens.

² A Spanish bishop, who knew Ignatius well about this time, discoursed with him one day about prayer, and asked him how and in what frame of mind he felt himself to be when he prayed. Ignatius answered, 'Of that I will say nothing; it suffices that I converse with you on what is edifying for yourself; in what you desire me to say there might be self-love or pride.'

what he knew then of his holiness and charity would alone suffice to make him be regarded as a saint.

GENELLI.

But his sufferings and his weakness went on increasing, and the physicians declared nothing could save his life but a return to his native air. His friends insisted on this, 'and the pilgrim yielded to the counsel of those about him,' as he related to Gonsalez. Xavier, Laynez, and Salmeron had affairs to settle with their families, before they could fulfil the vow of poverty; they dreaded, and Ignatius for them, the remonstrances and entreaties they might have to encounter; and they wished Ignatius to act on their behalf, which he consented to do.

Inquisi-
tion by
Laurent.

It was not yet time, however, for him to leave Paris; another of those persecutions awaited him which he asked for his order as a favour from God. He was not attacked now for teaching publicly as he had been in Spain, but, on the contrary, the retirement in which he and his disciples kept themselves was thought mysterious and suspicious; it was said he desired to found a new sect; and he used a book (of course the 'Exercises') which perhaps contained some heretical doctrines. A formal accusation was laid before Laurent, the inquisitor who had succeeded Leivin. Ignatius postponed his departure; he prayed for an enquiry; Laurent assured him he wholly disbelieved the charge, but desired that the book of 'Exercises' might be shown him; and with which he was so well pleased, that he asked to have a copy. Ignatius wished a formal recognition of his innocence; the inquisitor thought this unnecessary; but, foreseeing of what importance an authentic vindication might be hereafter, he went to the office of the Inquisition, without asking leave, with a notary and some doctors of the University, by way of witness, and obtained from Laurent the attestation he desired:—

We, brother Thomas Laurent, professor of theology, priest of the Order of Preaching Brothers, Inquisitor-General in France, delegated by the Holy See, certify by these presents, that after an enquiry made by our precursor, Valentine Leivin, and by us his council, into the life, morals, and doctrine of Ignatius of Loyola, we have found nothing that is not Catholic and Christian; we also know the said Loyola, and M. Peter Faber, and some of his friends, and we have always seen them live in a Catholic and virtuous man-

ner, and observed nothing in them but what becomes Christian and virtuous men. The 'Exercises' also which the said Loyola teaches seem to us, so far as we have looked into them, to be Catholic.

Given and done at Paris, at the Dominican Convent, under our usual seal, 1535, 23rd January. In the presence of [here follows the names of the witnesses; that of the Inquisitor is illegible].

It was not surprising that any semblance of novelty was regarded with suspicion, when events were passing which threatened the most serious dislocation that the Christian world had ever yet known. The Lutherans over half Germany had long been in open rebellion; Charles V. feared to exasperate them, because he wanted to concentrate his forces against the Turks. The Confession of Augsburg had shown that no compromise could be of any avail; for the Emperor had, in fact, already allowed liberty of worship, proscribing only Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, whose excesses were horrible to decent men of all parties. Protestants, as well as Catholics, were permitted to preach and explain the Scriptures 'in the sense given to them by the Fathers.' The Lutherans were still dissatisfied; in fact, toleration was but a small part of what Luther demanded, and the last thing he was willing to grant.¹

Proceed-
ings of the
Reformers
in Ger-
many.

On the remonstrance of Frederic, Count Palatine, the Protestants reduced their claims to these:—First, communion under both kinds; second, marriage allowed to priests; third, invocation of Saints omitted in the mass; fourth, the Church property which had been stolen was to remain with the plunderers; fifth, a General Council should be called

¹ It is pleasant to relate an honourable act of Luther which preceded this convocation at Augsburg. He forbade his adherents (who were nearly all the insurgent party) to impede the journey of the Emperor through the Tyrol, where the Landgrave of Hesse, and other chiefs, thought it would be easy to intercept him and take him prisoner. And when the preachers of his side complained that Charles ordered them to abstain from intruding into the pulpits of the parish churches at Augsburg, where certainly they could have no right to be, Luther told them that submission to authority was a duty when it did not imply a sin. Charles in return bade the priests touch on no disputed subjects, so that all might go to hear them with edification.

Melan-
thon's
fruitless
endeavours
to restore
peace.
1530.

immediately to decide on other points in dispute. For all this while, and in spite of the insane hatred of Luther against the Pope, a council to be summoned by him was always demanded by the Protestant party; they were not yet ready to follow their leader, and defy the head of the Church. Melancthon, in another conference appointed by Charles, when seven persons on each side were to revise and modify the Confession of Augsburg, suggested so many motives and ways for approximation, that Luther burst into imprecations against him. He had agreed with the Catholics on fifteen articles; partially agreed on three more; and the remaining three were allowed to be placed under the head of 'abuses.' The points of agreement were important,¹ and peace might reasonably have been hoped for; but peace was not the aim of those who expected to make their own fortunes in the general disturbance of Germany. Luther and his partisans desired war at any price; and the oil that Melancthon cast upon the waters was as nothing in the violence of the storm. The Lutheran leaders, assembled at Smalkald, resolved on resisting the Emperor; the Diet, convened at Cologne to elect his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans, gave a new occasion of revolt; they threatened to join their forces to those of Soliman, then invading Austria, if they were opposed in their schemes of religious emancipation. Charles was compelled to sign the peace of Nuremberg; after which, the Protestant chiefs having enabled him to make an imposing display before the walls of Vienna, Soliman approached, saw, and withdrew without a battle. Charles had an interview with Clement VII., the most unfortunate sovereign in Europe, at Bologna, as he passed there on his way to Spain. They agreed that a General Council should be summoned. Clement met Francis I. at Marseilles; the mar-

Peace of
Nurem-
burg.

1534.
Interview
of the Pope
and King
of France.

¹ Melancthon allowed 'that the Saints intercede for us, and we may celebrate them on certain days; that Our Lord is contained entire under one species; that some days of the week should be kept holy, and a fast be observed on their vigils; that faith and justification come by grace, but man has the *libre arbitre*.' A very few years afterwards the cup was nearly promised to the laity by the Council of Trent; the granting indulgences exceedingly restricted, and their sale absolutely condemned. It is plain, therefore, that there was no wish to appease these dissensions in the minds of those who expected to share the spoils of the convents and cathedrals.

riage of Catherine de Medicis, the Pope's niece, with the Duke of Orleans, was decided on; and Clement returned full of satisfaction to Rome. But there he learned that the Turks had besieged Tunis, and were plundering the coasts of Italy; the Anabaptists had renewed their hateful excesses in Westphalia, and taken Münster; his own family had long embittered his life; the Cardinals de' Medici and Cosmo, his nephews, were fighting for Florence. The Pope consulted his cardinals; they could only advise him to negotiate a peace, if possible, between the princes of Christendom, and convoke the Council so long desired. Clement saw that these measures were now indispensable; and he would have endeavoured in sincerity to carry them forward, if life had been granted him; but he was now an old man, and could not struggle against so much perplexity and grief.

'Perciò S. S^{ta} si pose a grandissimo pensiero,' and it was this sorrow and dread that brought him to the grave, says Scripando. He died not regretted, for princes who are unfortunate are seldom popular; and Clement, from the time he mounted the throne, had been persecuted by destiny, his people plundered, his city sacked, himself twice a prisoner; and all his efforts to drive the foreigners out of Italy had only strengthened their power and sealed its doom. The Austrians were now holding firm possession of the north and south; and in the empire of opinion Rome had lost as much as in territory. Yet this was not the sin, or even the error, of Clement VII.; he lived in times that were too strong for him; but they would have been so for any ordinary man; he strove to meet them conscientiously; those nearest his person always esteemed him most. His reluctance to summon a council, not greater than that of his successor, Paul III., was justified by the event; for the council at last assembled only established a more defined and irrevocable separation between the adherents of the new faith and the old. Its sole success was in laying down the dogmas of the Church with an accuracy and fulness that make future cavils within its pale nearly impossible; and this was done with so much learning and patient deliberation, that even Protestants regard its decisions with respect. Clement had said that, if he could choose a successor, Farnese should be

RANKE.

Death of
Clement,
Sept. 25,
1534.

RANKE.

the next pope; and now the conclave, with only one day's deliberation, placed Farnese on the throne. The Romans showed 'immense joy' to see at last, after one hundred and three years, and thirteen foreign pontiffs, one of Roman blood seated on the chair of St. Peter; he was likely to fill it honourably and well, and the hopes of Christendom revived.

BOOK II.

FROM IGNATIUS' FINAL LEAVING AZPEYTIA TO HIS ESTABLISHMENT IN ROME.

LOYOLA, thus justified by the Inquisition in Paris, was now at liberty to set out for Spain. He committed his disciples to the care of Peter Faber, as being the oldest among them, and the only one of the number who had received holy orders. They procured him a horse ; for he was too weak to travel on foot. He started about the 25th of March, 1535 ; for that is the date of a letter from Francis Xavier to his parents, in which he commends Ignatius to them. At Bayonne he was recognised by some persons, who hastened to carry the news of his arrival to the Castle of Loyola, then occupied by the family of his brother, Don Martin Garcia. Two younger brothers and two nephews were also there at this time. These were probably Emiliano and Araoz, both young boys at the period of the Saint's visit to Spain. The former went afterwards to Rome, the better to forward his interests in life ; but, at the request of his uncle, he went through the 'Spiritual Exercises,' and soon after begged permission to join the Society, which ultimately he did. The latter, Antonio Araoz, who also became devoted to the Saint, must have been a sister's son.

1535.
Journey
to Spain.

Ignatius stopped at an inn six miles from Azpeytia, where Juan Esquibar, who knew him well, sent to look for him, arrived shortly after. On his enquiring if there were any strangers in the house, the host answered there was one who spoke like a native of Guipuscoa, and had the air and bearing of a well-born man, though he was mounted on a sorry horse and was poorly clad. Juan desired to be shown to the stranger's apartment ; but, instead of opening the door, he looked through a crevice and beheld Ignatius kneeling in prayer. He instantly recognised him, and rode off to inform the family at Loyola of the near approach of their saintly relative, spreading the tidings by the way.

Approach
to Azpey-
tia.

Hereupon his brothers and nephews prepared to set out with a noble cavalcade, and bring him with honour to his ancestral home; but, alarmed lest the intended display should shock the Saint's humility and be the means of depriving them of his presence, they sent in their stead a worthy priest, Balthazar d'Arabeza, with directions to welcome him in their name, and beguile him, if possible, into a visit to Loyola. Suspecting, however, that Ignatius, in his desire to avoid a ceremonious reception, would diverge from the high-road and take the path by the mountains, which were infested with brigands, they despatched two servants, well mounted and armed, to act as his guard, while appearing to be but chance travellers like himself. All happened as they apprehended. The Saint, after courteously dismissing the priest, took the way by the mountains, and, meeting the two men, at first supposed them to be robbers; but, on finding who they were, and for what purpose they had been sent, he refused their offered escort, and, instead of proceeding to his brother's house, went on alone to Azpeytia. But even thus he did not escape the honours prepared for him; for at the entrance of the town he was met by a procession of the clergy and a number of his kinsmen, who received him with all the reverence due to his high repute for sanctity, and entreated him to accompany them home. This also he declined to do; saying that, since he had become poor for the sake of Christ, he had no home but the houses of the poor, and he would lodge nowhere but at the Hospital of St. Magdalen. There his family sent him a comfortable bed, together with provisions; the bed he would not use, but disarranged it every morning, to conceal that he slept upon the floor. When this pious artifice was discovered, a common bed was given him, such as the poor lay upon in the hospital, and this he was content to use. The provisions that had been sent him he distributed among the sick; and, during all the time he remained in Azpeytia he lived on alms, which, to the disgust of his relatives, he persisted in begging from door to door. He used to wait upon the sick, and eat at the same table with the poor, sharing with them the victuals he received in alms, and reserving the worst portions for himself. Never but once, say his biographers,

Azpeytia.

Sta. Magdalena.

did he consent to enter the house of his fathers,¹ and then only in compliance with the entreaties of his brother's wife, who on her knees implored him by the passion of our Lord to visit Loyola, at least for a few hours. But he yielded rather, we are told, that he might impress upon her the reverence with which he regarded that holy mystery, than out of any weak relenting of his heart towards his own kindred and home; for he had renounced all for Jesus' sake, and, it may be, he had still enough of natural tenderness unsubdued within him to make him dread a fresh entanglement with human ties. As it was, he remained but a single night, which he passed on the bare floor, going in the evening, and returning early in the morning before the inmates of the castle were awake.

Visit to
Loyola.

Many years after this, when he desired to encourage a young novice whose heart clung too fondly to memories of home, Ignatius told him that for a long while he had been troubled by a picture in his book of prayers representing the Holy Virgin, in whose sweet and gentle countenance he seemed to see such a resemblance to that of his sister-in-law, Doña Maddalena, that, whenever he turned the page, his heart was touched with a feeling of regretful affection for the place and friends he was to see no more. So he fastened a paper over the picture, resolved to obliterate that dangerous tenderness—a childishness he called it—and these temptations, he said, never returned.

Likeness
of Doña
Madda-
lena.

His health had already benefited from the effects of the journey and relaxation from severe study, even before he again breathed his native air; and he now resumed the practice of all his former austerities; he began also to labour for the instruction and salvation of souls. When his brother, Don Martin, learned that it was the Saint's intention to teach in public, he was much chagrined, and endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, telling him he would have no listeners. Ignatius replied that he should be quite content if he had but one. The event surpassed all expectation. Many of every rank flocked to hear him, even the chief men of the neighbourhood; and the lord of Loyola was himself amongst

Preaching.

¹ Père Pierrart thinks this is a mistake, and that he was another time some days there.

them. Ignatius was accessible to every one, but would speak on none but spiritual subjects. He preached for two or three hours together on three days in the week, besides Sundays and holidays; nor did he desist even when his strength was much reduced by continual low-fever. The crowds at length became so great, that he was forced to leave the town for the open country, men climbing up into the trees to hear him; and so marvellously was he assisted by the power of God, that he was distinctly heard at a distance of three hundred yards, although his voice was not naturally strong. He spoke entirely from the impulse of the moment, preparing nothing beforehand, but throwing his whole soul into his discourses, which, therefore, in spite of their extreme simplicity, produced extraordinary effects.

Alarzia.

Parents were glad to bring their children to learn of Ignatius and receive his blessing. One ugly little fellow, Martin Alarzia, stammered so much that the people around laughed at him; Ignatius turned to them and said:—‘You laugh because you see only the outside of this boy. I can tell you that it is not so ugly as his soul is beautiful in the sight of God, and this beauty will continue ever to increase. He will one day be a distinguished servant of God, and will do great things for the saving of souls.’ The event proved the truth of the prediction, for Alarzia lived to be a holy and zealous priest.

Another boy was brought to Ignatius that he might bless him, the mother said, and pray to God to preserve him for her comfort and support. He was eight years old; his name Francis d’Almara. Ignatius looked attentively at him, then he said to his mother, ‘Fear not, your son will live long, and have many children.’ And d’Almara lived to the age of eighty, and had fifteen children.

When Ignatius preached publicly for the first time, he told the people that one of his reasons for returning to his own country was to appease his troubled conscience, which never ceased reproaching him with the examples he had given in his youth. Every day he implored God to forgive him; now he asked pardon of his fellow-countrymen also, and he besought their prayers. ‘Besides, I was obliged,’ he said, ‘to return, that I might pay a debt of justice to an innocent person. Yonder,’ he cried, pointing to a man who

was present among the crowd, 'is one who was imprisoned and fined for damage done in an orchard by me and my companions. Let all therefore know that he is innocent and I am guilty; and now, in reparation of the wrong that was done him, I publicly make over to him my two farms, presenting him as a free gift with all that is over and above the debt I owe him.'

Such a beginning secured a ready acceptance of the lessons he taught; and he made, we are told, a revolution in the morals and habits of that part of the country. He commenced with the clergy, whom all the writers of that time, and in nearly all places, describe as, for the most part, sunk in a dissolute and scandalous life. Many priests kept women in their houses, who wore veils on their heads as if they were married, and said openly that they considered themselves wives of those priests. Ignatius procured of the governor an order that none who were not legally married should wear a veil.

Then he attacked the passion for gaming, which was universal in Spain. The custom was so inveterate that the Spaniards, says Howell, would say their prayers before they began to play, and thank God for their good fortune afterwards. And, for more than three years after, no cards or dice were to be seen in Azpeytia. Then he addressed those who indulged in the luxuries of life, and a vain display in jewels and dress; above all, he tried to repress a style of feminine adornment which he thought unsuitable to Christian decorum. The women listened with delight and remorse; they wept, they mended their ways; the over-obtrusive charms were hidden, the vain decorations cast away. On each of the ten days that come between Ascension Day and Pentecost, Ignatius spoke in the evening on one of the ten commandments; and on the Pentecost, it was said, the Holy Spirit descended into many hearts. When he had preached on the taking of God's name in vain, all oaths and impieties of speech became odious, and were heard no more. Women who had led bad lives now devoted themselves to penance and works of piety; some of these made long pilgrimages on foot, some practised a more safe devotion by attending to the sick poor in the hospitals. All strove to convert their

The bash-
ful poor.

companions in sin. That association which has so often in Italy impressed strangers with the considerate and tender charity of the Catholic faith, instituted for the ‘*poveri vergognosi*,’—decent and destitute persons whose bashfulness or honest pride concealed their wants from all eyes but those of their loving mother, the Church—originated at Azpeytia with Ignatius, who established there the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, charged to discover and relieve such persons in perfect secrecy, and he gave to it an income from his own property, which was to be administered by the principal inhabitants of the town. He commenced among them the holy custom of daily prayer at noon, for those who were living in mortal sin; he gave money for ringing the bells at that time. He revived the evening prayers for the souls of the departed. He obtained from his kinsmen at Loyola a gift of twelve loaves to the poor every Sunday, in honour of the twelve Apostles.

Ignatius
in the
hospital at
Azpeytia.

Everything that he attempted he succeeded in; and it pleased God often to bestow upon His servant a miraculous power. A woman said to be possessed for four years was brought to him. He said that, not being a priest, he could not exorcise her; but he prayed for her, placed his hands on her head, made over her the sign of the cross, and she was cured. A girl horribly convulsed was brought to him as a demoniac. But the Saint perceived that the convulsions were physical; he dispelled them by the sign of the cross. In the hospital was a poor man named Bastida, who had been subject to epileptic fits for many years. One day he was seized with the disorder in the presence of the Saint. Ignatius, moved with compassion, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, uttering a short prayer, laid his hand upon his forehead. Bastida immediately revived, and, so perfect was the cure, that the fits never after returned. Almost more wonderful was the restoration of a poor consumptive creature thought to be dying: Ignatius at first refused his benediction, saying he was not a priest; then, vanquished by the importunities of the sick woman and the bystanders, he gave it, and her health and strength returned. She had been carried from Gamara, where she lived; she returned on foot and without help. Some days afterwards she came to

thank her benefactor, bringing with her an offering of fruits; the Saint would not refuse her gift, but distributed the fruit among the poor of the hospital. But not the Saint's hand alone, even things that belonged to him were endued with a miraculous virtue. A poor woman, whose arm was withered and useless, moved partly by a feeling of devotion and partly by a hope of obtaining some heavenly favour, took some of his linen home with her to wash, and on the first touch she was entirely healed.

The exertions made by Ignatius, while he treated himself with so little indulgence, at last brought on another illness. He refused to leave the hospital, but two ladies of his relations, Maria d'Oriola and Simona d'Alzaga, came there to attend on him. One night when they wished to leave a light in the room, he would not have it; he said, God would not let him want anything that was necessary for him. He rose in the night to pray, as was his custom; his heart, overburdened with joy, relieved itself in exclamations. His kinswomen ran to his room, thinking he was ill; they opened his door suddenly, and saw him surrounded by a bright light, his hands clasped, his eyes raised to heaven, his face shining with a radiance that dazzled them, his soul absorbed in prayer. When he found himself discovered, he was confounded, and desired his cousins not to speak of what they had seen; doubtless they did not think it necessary to be silent after his departure.

Such are the traditions which the people of Azpeytia still preserve and delight to repeat. Many families remain there who have heard from their parents stories like these carried down from the days of Ignatius. Three miles from the town is a farmhouse, whose owners gladly relate how he used frequently to rest there after his walk from the town, and they showed Père Pierrart, about the year 1865, a figure of the Saint, in whose pedestal was enclosed the rope he wore round his waist, which he left as a parting gift when he said farewell. The marvels attributed to him do not exceed the credence of most persons who have examined the influence of mind over matter; not cures only, but such phenomena as the 'levitation' of Saints, and the glory seen round their heads, have been admitted and explained by some who reject

Christianity, and are perhaps more unreasonable than those who profess to submit reason to faith. But the companions of Ignatius did not attribute to him the power of working miracles in the usual sense ; Ribadeneira expressly says this, and adds, what can hardly be denied, that the success of the Society he founded, amid such great discouragements, was of itself a lasting and continued miracle, and a proof of Divine interposition that needs no confirmation from lesser or disputable facts.

Leaving
Azpeytia.

Three months Ignatius had remained at Azpeytia ; he had recovered his health ; he desired now to hasten on towards the objects for which he had left Paris. Clergy and laity strove to retain him ; they entreated him to continue the good work he had begun. He answered that God called him away, that he must extend the work elsewhere ; but they themselves would still participate in it. He intended to set off on foot, taking no money ; his brother Martin insisted on escorting him to the port whence he was to sail for Italy, and Ignatius compromised by accepting his brother's company as far as the confines of Biscaya. There he made his last farewell to his kinsmen, dismounted, and pursued his journey on foot to Xavier, then to Almazano and Toledo, where lived the families of Laynez and Salmeron. With all these he concluded the arrangements committed to him, though the parents of the young men were almost all unwilling that they should make this renunciation ; but he would not take charge of the monies they were to receive. From Valencia he went to Segorbia, to visit his old friend Juan de Castro, who had formerly been hindered from following him, now a priest and a novice in the Carthusian monastery of Vallis Christi ; Ignatius told him all he had done and hoped to do, and asked his counsels and prayers. De Castro said he would answer him next day. He passed the night in prayer, and in the morning, as one filled with Divine light, he declared to Ignatius that this work must be of God, and bade him proceed ; he was even willing himself to quit the convent, where as yet he had not taken the vows, and accompany Ignatius. But this he would not allow, and the friends parted with mutual promises of intercession and a lasting charity.

The Char-
treux.
Diocese of
Segorbia.

Perhaps this was the convent in which it was made known to Ignatius that two of the monks, unfaithful to their vows, intended to abscond. Ignatius announced this revelation before all the brotherhood; the two offenders, smitten with remorse, immediately confessed their designs, and delivered up the disguises they had prepared.

He was to embark for Genoa from Valencia. There he stood for the last time in the neighbourhood of the lady whom he had served; he saw the romantic residence given by Ferdinand and protected by his successor, where Princess Juanita lived with her mother, the Queen of Naples. She too must have heard of him, if she did not see him; for he stayed several days in Valencia, and preached and converted much there. If she had ever contemplated a possible marriage with Don Inigo, she might have thought her kinsman Charles V. would not have opposed it; he was a goodnatured prince to young women in those days, and sympathised in their inclinations. He took his sister Catalina away from Tordesillas, that she might share the festivities of his reception in Castille; ¹ and removed his father's widow, Germaine de Foix, from the convent of Abroxo—doubtless greatly to her satisfaction, since she remarried next year, with Charles's consent, though the lord of Brandenburg was looked on as a misalliance by the old subjects of King Ferdinand. We can find afterwards no mention of the Princess Juanita, and may conjecture as we please, from the silence of history, that she remained unmarried from some memory of her illustrious lover; or, incited perhaps by his example, took shelter in the obscurity of a religious life.

When Ignatius left the house of his friend Martin Perez, where he had lodged in Valencia many days, to embark for Italy, the sea was infested by pirates; Barbarossa had driven Muley Hassan from Tunis, and dominated the Mediterranean with a fleet of 100 galleys, plundering both by sea and land. He did not fall in with the vessel which bore Ignatius; that danger was averted by another: it was caught in a violent

¹ But the poor Queen pined for her and refused food, so the Princess was forced to return.

Danger by
sea

storm; the helm carried away, the mast broken; the sailors gave themselves up for lost. Ignatius told Gonsalez afterwards that while they shrieked and lamented as if their last hour was come, he felt no fear or disturbance, only a profound grief that he had answered so imperfectly to the graces that Heaven had bestowed on Him. At last they reached the port of Genoa; but he was not yet safe. In crossing the Apennines to Bologna he lost his way, and

and land.

found himself, after much scrambling and climbing, on the brink of a precipice, where he could neither advance nor, without difficulty, return. He had to crawl on hands and knees up steep rocks, overhanging a torrent far below, holding on by ledges of rock, or herbs growing in the crevices; he said afterwards, he had never been in greater danger; his escape seemed to him a miracle.

Bologna.

He arrived sick at Bologna. The winter was advancing, the rains had set in, the roads were flooded, and when at last the weather mended, and he had reached the town, as he entered it his foot slipped in passing a bridge, and he fell into a moat. He rose bruised, wet through, and covered with mud. All along the streets the boys shouted at him; he asked alms but received nothing; he would have perished of hunger and cold but for the Spanish College, which took him in and sheltered him kindly until he had recovered strength. Then after a week he set off for Venice.

Venice.

He arrived at the well-remembered spot on the last day of the year 1535. Probably 'the learned and honourable man' with whom he lodged when he wrote this letter to his friend Cazador, afterwards Bishop of Barcelona, was the elder D'Eguia. It was dated February 12, 1536:—¹

1536.

Ignatius to Cazador, Archdeacon of Barcelona.

Cazador.

You say at once that you will not withdraw from me your former assistance. After I received the letter of Isabel Roser, I only told you she will take care of me till the next April, that I may continue my studies. I thought this was best, so that I might procure myself the books I want, as well as other necessities.

Although living is dearer here, and my health does not allow me now to bear want and corporeal fatigues as well as those of study,

¹ Menchaca gives it in Latin, whence Genelli takes it.

I am well provided with everything, thanks to Isabel Roser, who has made me receive here twelve crowns in her name, besides the alms you have sent me for the love of God. Fifteen days before Christmas I was kept in my bed at Bologna by pains in the stomach, owing to cold and fever. I resolved, therefore, to go to Venice, where I have passed a month and a half in the society and the house of a learned and worthy man, so that I am persuaded nothing better could have happened to me. The wish you express, to see me preach publicly at Barcelona, I also feel it always; not that I think I can do more than others, or be more useful, but for the sake of explaining to the people, as one of the least among them, things simple and easy to comprehend, hoping of God our Lord that He will sustain by His grace my weak efforts, so that I may do something for His service and His glory. I reckon, then, that, after having finished my studies, in a year from this Easter, I shall remain in no town of Spain to preach the word of God till we have first met, as we both wish; for I think I am without doubt more obliged to the people of Barcelona than to any others on this earth. This, however, must be understood, *clave non errante*, if God our Lord does not call me out of Spain to some work which will bring me less honour and more trouble. I cannot tell how this may be; what I do know is, that I shall always preach in poverty, but putting aside the solitudes and difficulties which now entangle me during my studies.

Ignatius sought a lodging in a hospital of which St. Cajetan de Thienne was one of the directors. This must have occurred after the date of the preceding letter, and perhaps gave rise to the story of Ignatius wishing admission into the order Cajetan had founded, which he, it was said, refused, saying it would be better Ignatius should create one entirely devoted to external acts of charity.¹ Cajetan himself was not then at Venice, but at Naples. In that same winter Ignatius wrote the following letter to his confessor Miona, at Paris :—

Theatines.

I wish much to know what has become of you; which is not surprising, since I am indebted to you in spiritual things, as a son

¹ Ribadeneira relates that Laynez having come to Rome from Venice in April 1545, communicated, in his presence, to Ignatius the desire of the principal members of the Theatine brotherhood to join his new Society. Ignatius answered, it was more for the Lord's service that each order should remain as He had been pleased to constitute it.

Letter to
Miona.

to his father ; and, besides, I am bound to you by the love and goodwill you have always had for me, and shown by their results. I do not know any way of repaying a part of what you have done, except to persuade you to make the ' Spiritual Exercises ' during a month, with the person I have named to you, and who offers to do it. If, therefore, you have tried them and found edification, I pray you in the name of our Lord write and tell me. And if not, I beseech you by His love, and His painful death for our sakes, to set about them ; and if you are afterwards sorry for it, I consent to suffer whatever penance you inflict on me, and to be regarded by you as a man who trifles with clergymen to whom he owes everything. As in writing to one I mean my letter for all, I have not yet written to you particularly, but Faber can tell you all you want to know concerning me, and you can read the letter I now send him. I pray you twice, thrice, and as often as I can, for the glory of God our Lord, to do what I have said, so that the Divine Majesty may not reprove me later for not having conjured you with all my might to do that which I think the best thing on earth, not only for the separate good of each, but to learn how to conduct others in the way of piety—how to help and guide them. And if you did not feel the want for yourself, you will see how much you can profit others : more than you expect. I pray the infinite goodness of God our Lord to give you grace to know His most holy will, and to accomplish it perfectly in everything, *juxta talenta omnibus commissa*, if we would not hear Him say to us one day, ' Serve nequam, sciebas,' &c.

Venice, November 16. 1536.

Hosez and
the Eguias.

The ' Exercises ' were not less efficient at Venice than he had found them before ; they won for him three new companions—Diego Hosez, or Hoyes, and the two Eguias. Hosez was of an ancient family of Malaga,¹ a worthy man, very earnest against the heresies of the Germans. Though the desire of spiritual profit led him to Ignatius, it was not with entire confidence ; he had heard accusations, and he entered on the ' Exercises ' well provided with volumes of the Fathers, Councils, and other such works. But when he had gone through the first meditations, he was persuaded that he beheld the characters of Divine truth. He attached himself to Ignatius at once, and the remainder of his few years on earth were spent in toiling as a member of the Society of Jesus. He

¹ Originally of Cordova, made Lords of Abbayda by some former sovereign of Castille.

bore to heaven the first fruits of the order destined to lead so many there.

The two Eguias, Diego and Stephen, whom Ignatius had first known at Alcalá, were remaining at Venice, on their return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. They received him gladly into their house, and consulted him how they should shape their future life, which they intended to devote entirely to God. By his advice they sought Divine guidance in the 'Exercises,' and afterwards became members of his Society. Diego d'Eguia had the signal honour and privilege of being confessor to his master during their later years. But in this office he did not entirely escape his censure; for he spoke of Ignatius as a saint, and this gave him great offence. Nevertheless Ignatius loved and venerated him. He sometimes said, 'When we are in heaven we shall see Padre Diego fifty yards above us, so that we shall hardly know him.' A saying of Diego's was often repeated,—'Chi si stima qualche cosa, val poco; chi si stima d' assai, val nulla.'

Pietro Contarini, a cousin of the Cardinal, and subsequently Bishop of Baffo (Paphos), placed himself in close connection with Ignatius, and became his protector and warm friend. He resided in Venice, and was Administrator of the Hospital of St. John and St. Paul, where the companions of Ignatius lived. Many noblemen of the Republic, and many of other classes, passed through the 'Exercises;' some of these afterwards entered the company; and Venice always presented a rich harvest to the Jesuit preachers.

Pietro
Contarini.

The time now approached when the ten companions were to be re-united; it came sooner than it was looked for. When Charles V., returning victorious from Africa, presented himself before Paul III., at Rome, he brought with him no promise of peace; on the contrary, he could not, even in the presence of Paul, or after the moving appeal he made to him, control the passion with which he sought a new quarrel with Francis. He even challenged him to single combat. In a few weeks he invaded the Milanese, Provence, and Picardy; but success no longer attended his arms, and he retreated into Spain. The Queens, his sisters, with difficulty prevailed

on him and Francis to conclude a short and partial truce ; and the young men, who were left by Ignatius at Paris to complete their studies, were warned to leave France at once, lest the roads should be closed to them. Instead therefore of waiting till the last week in January, they started on November 15 for Venice.

But their departure was not unopposed, and even Faber could hardly have been wholly without hesitation when the strongest representations were made to him of the good work they were doing, and would renounce by leaving Paris for an uncertain and distant usefulness in the East. Bartoli mentions, without naming him, 'a celebrated theologian, whose learning equalled his virtue,' who declared that Faber could not, without sinning grievously, desert the good he had effected in France, and which was more important, said his counsellor, than anything he could hope to do in Palestine ; he added that he was ready to present this opinion in writing signed by all the doctors and theologians of Paris. Faber had indeed peculiar endowments for the work of winning souls among the highly-cultivated world, in which he was then exercising his untiring zeal and great learning, and perhaps it was impossible for an uninspired judgment not to believe he had there found his calling. He had a delightful ingenuity in mingling spiritual things with familiar conversation ; he could join in talk the most divergent from such subjects, and like a skilful pilot steer the discourse into any channel he chose. He pleased as much as he edified ; all sought his society, and the sweetness and the depth of holy feeling with which he spoke touched all hearts, and often effected wonderful conversions. He directed the 'Exercises' with so much of the spirit in which they were written, that Ignatius thought him in this without an equal. He was obviously doing great and lasting good, and if God Himself had not confirmed within the hearts of the six young men the engagements they had entered into with Ignatius, they would perhaps have yielded to these indications, and thought it His will they should remain. But the Society of Jesus was in the order of Providence, and Faber persevered.

Ignatius was now solicitous for his friends. He wrote to the confessor of the French Queen Eleanor :—' Master Le-

fèvre (this was Faber's name in Paris) and his companions will have a difficult journey to make, and must be reduced to great necessity,' wherefore he asks assistance for them.

It was advisable that they should not start all at once : some remained to wind up their worldly affairs ; the others were to proceed to Meaux, and there wait till their companions joined them. Simon Rodriguez was among the first party ; it pleased God to send him a sudden malady, and a surprising deliverance. He was seized with a burning fever ; an abscess broke out on his shoulder ; and when he reached Meaux, he suffered intense pain, and passed the night rolling delirious upon the floor, which was his bed, as well as that of his companions. But the worst part of his torment was the fear of delaying his companions, who, unless they consented to leave him, might find the passes closed, and their journey hindered. He and his companions prayed fervently to God that night ; towards morning he fell into a quiet slumber ; he awoke quite well, and when, a few hours after, the rest of the party arrived from Paris, he was able to accompany them without difficulty. He soon met with another interruption : one of his brothers, and a college friend of Simon's, having discovered that he had not left them for a short absence, as they supposed, but intending to follow Ignatius, rode hastily after him, and having overtaken him, implored him not to afflict his mother and brothers, and disappoint the King of Portugal, who had some right to benefit by the education he had given him, by devoting himself in a foreign country to the company of Loyola. Simon gently defended himself, and said, ' he thought it would be easier for him to persuade them to go with him, than for them to induce him to return.' And they were forced to let him proceed.

The com-
panions
leaving
Paris.

Rodriguez.

Further on, he met with a different sort of importunities : a party of young people were dancing together, in the summer evening, and three or four young girls came up and wanted him to join them ; possibly they were ' sectaires,' to whom the clerical dress was a matter of amusement, for they persisted until Rodriguez was frightened and fled with precipitation, calling out, ' Aux voleurs, aux voleurs ! '

It seems to have been not in vain that early in entering

on the religious life Simon had marked a cross upon his heart.

Xavier.

Francis Xavier had also impediments to overcome. The first was too easily set aside to deserve much notice; it was a canonship at Pamplona, which was pressed on him just as he was leaving Paris. The next did not seriously molest him till some days afterwards. He had resolved in the fervour of his piety that he would strive to do penance separately for every fault of his youth. It was a common recreation of the students in Paris to run races, and Xavier accused himself of having felt a complacency in his own swiftness. For this offence he bound his legs tightly with rough cords, and endured the pain this gave him, until he was forced to sit down by the roadside exhausted and unable to walk further.¹ When at last he could not conceal the effect nor cause, his companions were horrified to find the flesh so inflamed and swollen that it had closed over the cords. They carried him in their arms, 'fayre and softly, to the nearest Inne, where they sent for a Physitian;' doubtless the village barber or blacksmith, but he was discreetly afraid of operating in such a strange case, and would not undertake to remove the cord. They had then recourse to earnest prayer. And God, who is pleased sometimes to show His strength in our greatest weakness, worked the miracle that was asked. When Xavier awoke, after a night of peaceful slumber, he was a sound man; the cords had fallen off and the flesh was healed.

The wayfarers now resumed their journey, and had no more of these alarms. But delays of other sorts sometimes occurred. Once in a defile they were stopped and questioned by some French soldiers; it would have been embarrassing if they had been forced to answer separately, for several were Spaniards; luckily, a peasant who had stopped to look at them, turning to the soldiers, said, 'Let them go on! don't you see *que ces messieurs sont réformateurs? qu'ils vont réformer quelque pays?*' Whether said in mischief or friendship, these words persuaded the soldiers to let them pass.

Crossing Lorraine, they were drenched with rain. In

¹ This account of the journey is from an old life of Xavier in English.

Germany the snow was so deep, that they were detained in some places two or three days. There they met the French army marching towards Lorraine. The people, who durst not stir from their houses, wondered to see them, and asked if they had travelled through the air. Again they were stopped by the soldiers; and interrogated, they said they were students from Paris journeying from devotion towards St. Nicholas, a small place on the confines of Lorraine, through which indeed they had to pass. Their rosaries procured them a joyful reception wherever they came among Catholics. In the Protestant cities they were sometimes insulted, almost always challenged by the preachers to an argument, which they would not decline, though with little hope of convincing their prejudiced hearers. One minister, indeed, owned that they had the best of the dispute, but he would not promise to return to the ancient faith. The great humility and modesty of these poor pilgrims, contrasting even in the eyes of the most ignorant with their learning and eloquence, touched many persons; frequently they were kindly lodged and entertained, and guides sometimes sent on with them to show the way. At Basle many came to visit them at their inn, and invited them to controversy; among them was the celebrated Carlostadt. But we do not find that controversy ever did much good in these cases.

They had started with no other equipment than their staves, their chaplets round their necks, and a little valise on their shoulders. They walked two and two, 'with great recollection and modesty,' the weakest going first; sometimes in prayer, sometimes conversing of the things of God, or singing psalms and hymns. Every day Faber, Le Jay, or Brouet, who were priests, said mass; the others received the holy communion. Amongst them there was no authority; all desired to serve and assist the others; they were as loving brothers. When a resolution was necessary, each gave his opinion, and the majority decided.

One evening, arriving at a place sixteen miles from Constance, the minister who had been curé there, when he and his flock were Catholics, followed them into the inn, laughed at their chaplets, and challenged them to an argument. They accepted the defiance, though very weary;

Layne opened the discussion. We may well suppose the astonishment of the ex-curé, when he found what antagonists he had encountered in these poor and simple-seeming men. He interrupted the dispute by a proposal that they should adjourn to take supper together, quoting Virgil—

Et jam nox humida cœlo

Præcipitat; suadentque cadentia sidera *cœnam*—

Let us sup first, and then we will resume our discourse; to-morrow I invite you to come and see my books and my children—for the minister had a large family; the travellers declined the invitation and supped alone. They renewed the discussion afterwards, but the minister, excited by wine and the presence of a large auditory, at last argued himself into a passion, swore at his adversaries in good round German, and left the inn in a rage, threatening that he would have them put into prison. Those who witnessed this, advised the travellers to leave the place immediately; but they thought it right to remain that night. Early next morning, a man ‘about thirty years of age, of tall stature and a fair countenance, so that some said he was an angel,’ came to the inn, and made signs to the travellers to follow him, for he spoke only German, which they could not understand. He led them ten miles across the country, where they could see no track, yet they were not impeded by the snow which lay thick all around; when they reached the high road he left them.

Constance. Next day, they proceeded to Constance, now a Protestant city. Near it stood a hospital for the plague. A woman coming out of it as they passed, showed great delight at the sight of their chaplets, and asking them by signs to wait a moment, she ran into the hospital, and brought out pieces of crucifixes, which the Lutherans had destroyed. To make reparation for this insult to our dear Lord, the young men prostrated themselves upon the snow, and devoutly kissed those precious fragments.

**Venice,
1537.**

After fifty-four days, on the 6th January, 1537, their toilsome journey ended at Venice; they had the great happiness of seeing their Father Ignatius again; he wept over them for tenderness and joy. It was not yet time for the voyage

to Jerusalem; they deferred asking the Papal benediction for the present, and divided themselves among various works of charity in Venice. They resided in the Hospital of the Incurables, and that of St. John and St. Paul. There they all taught the truths of their religion, attended the sick, helped the dying, and followed the dead. This great charity edified all who saw it; the senators and the chief men of the Republic often went to look at their apostolic work, and some shed tears of emotion at the sight. For these men of consummate learning and rare gifts, some of them highly born, thought no office too humble for them; they washed and lifted in their arms men suffering from loathsome diseases; watched by them at night, consoled them, and showed them how to make sufferings and misfortune a privilege and a joy.

Xavier is said to have sucked the wounds of the sick in the hospital, only to overcome the repugnances of nature; but another explanation gives additional value to this act—it was a remedy of those times much vaunted by the physicians, and probably with reason, for something like it has been lately revived.¹

Thus they remained at Venice till mid Lent, when it was thought right that all but Ignatius should go to Rome; he deemed it prudent not to accompany them. For two persons were there whom he believed personally hostile to him; those were Cardinal Caraffa, friend and partner of Cajetan, a man of stern and irritable temper, possibly displeased because Ignatius and Hosez had refused to join his Theatines; and Ortiz, then conspicuous in Europe as the envoy of Charles V. to the Papal Court, in the matter of Queen Catherine and Henry VIII., who, at Paris, had been active in bringing Ignatius before the Inquisition; and he could not tell how far this old prejudice might exist still. Ultimately Caraffa proved not unfriendly to Ignatius, and Ortiz was among his earliest and most useful patrons.

¹ The story of King Edward and Queen Eleanor is familiar to us; and a touching incident is related of the reign of Louis XV., when a lady of the Court saved by this repulsive means the eyesight of her daughter, nearly lost by confluent small-pox.

Ignatius
left in
Venice.

About ten weeks after their arrival in Venice, the companions of Ignatius left him there, and set out for Rome. They made, as before, but little provision for their journey; and, when they had followed the sea-shore for three days, towards Ravenna, some of them fainted for want of food. They rested on Passion Sunday, in a place covered with pine-trees, and fed on the seeds of the sweet pine. Sometimes, from want of money, they had a difficulty in getting across the rivers, now swollen with the spring rains, and were forced to give a knife, an ink-bottle, or any small thing they had about them to a boatman to ferry them over. Once near Ancona they were arrested in this way; and one of the party went to pawn his breviary, while the others waited on the bank. 'When I was passing through the streets of Ancona,' said he, afterwards, 'begging alms with which I might redeem my breviary, I saw one of my companions, wet and barefooted, asking the market-women to give him, in charity, a little fruit or vegetables. I thought of his high birth, his great talents, the riches he had renounced, the eminent learning and virtue which would have given him such influence in the world; and I felt unworthy to be the associate of such men. These ideas returned to me often; increasing my admiration for them, and my wish to do them any service.' [This seems to describe Xavier.]

Journey
of the
compan-
ions from
Venice to
Rome.

Sometimes the country was so flooded that they had to wade long distances through the water. Codure, whose leg caused him great pain from inflammation, came out from this hydropathic treatment entirely cured.

At Ravenna they were received into a hospital, but only one bed was offered to the nine. This one bed was so repulsively dirty, that Rodriguez, who, with two others, was to occupy it, as being the most tired, chose rather to lie upon the floor. But he afterwards greatly reproached himself for what he thought an excess of fastidiousness. At Loretto they were hospitably received into the convent. They passed three happy days there, then proceeded to Tolentino, which they reached at night, exhausted by fasting and fatigue. The rain fell heavily; no one was out of doors, so they could not hope for alms. Three went on first; the rest sought a

Loretto.

little shelter by keeping close to the walls. One of the three, already drenched with the rain, walked in the middle of the road, now dark; when he saw, advancing towards him, a man of noble presence, and as far as he could judge, pleasant in countenance, who stopped, took his hand, placed some money in it, and withdrew without saying a word. The travellers thought this was a Divine interposition, and they went to the inn, and bought there a splendid supper of bread, wine, and dried figs; but they would not take this till they found some beggars with whom to share it.

Next day they arrived in Rome, where Paul III. had worthily filled the chair of St. Peter for about two years. Marc Antonio Contarini, writing from Rome,¹ says of Paul III. and his Court:—

For many years the Prelates had not been so strict in their lives RANKE. as they were then. The Cardinals had greater liberty of giving their opinions in the Consistory than for a long while past; and the Pope, so far from being displeased, greatly encouraged this; so that every day new reforms might be expected. Among the Cardinals were so many highly distinguished men, that it was commonly owned that the world had none such elsewhere.

Farnese had commenced his Papal life by an action full of promise for the future interests of the world. He assembled round him a large number of cardinals, chosen for their personal merits only; beginning with Gaspar Contarini, who suggested to his choice of counsellors such men as Sadolet, Reginald Pole; Caraffa, well acquainted with Spain and the Low Countries; Ghiberti, Bishop of Verona; Fregoso, Archbishop of Salerno; almost all members of the ‘Oratory of Divine Love,’ that pious society, which, from the days of Leo X., comprised so many good and holy prelates,² who, seeing the general miseries of the Church, ‘*e così maltrattato il culto divino*,’ even in the Pope’s own city, had made themselves into a ‘fortress’ for its protection. These men had sympathy enough with some of the Protestant party to deserve their confidence. Contarini had written a treatise on Justification, which was in accordance with the views of Luther. Pole congratulated him with admiration. ‘You

¹ To the Senate of Venice, in 1538.

² Such as Cajetan, its founder; Lippomani, Giuliano Bathi.

have brought to light,' he said, 'the jewel which the Church was keeping half concealed.' He attacked the abuses of the Curia at Rome, and was indignant when told that his censures implicated former Popes. 'Shall we care,' he said, 'for the fame of three or four Popes, and not mend what is corrupt, and earn a worthy reputation for ourselves?'

He wrote to Pole from Rome, in May 1537:—

The Pontiff has taken in hand the work of reformation, beginning with himself. He has chosen four cardinals—Simoneta, Ginuchio, Theatino, and myself—to examine and correct carefully everything that passes through the Dataria. . . . Almost all the cardinals are favourable to a reform. The face of things in the Consistory is beginning to alter. . . . I cherish great hopes that our affairs are daily taking a turn for the better. I desire above all that you and the Riverendissimo of Carpi should be with us, so that by the efforts of many the Christian republic may be more easily set to rights.

He found much fault with the abuse of dispensations; he rejected indignantly the idea that the Pope can suspend or confirm without reasonable cause.

He wrote two letters to Paul III., offering suggestions; in the second he uses these strong words:—

Certain lawyers have said that . . . the Pope . . . is bound by no rule but that of his own will. . . . Now this statement is so thoroughly false, repugnant to our common sense, contrary to Christian doctrine, demoralising to the whole Christian world, that scarce could anything be devised more deadly. . . . What could be more opposed to the law of Christ, which is the law of liberty, than that Christians should be subject to a Pope who can make and unmake laws, or dispense with them, without other rule than his own will? Heaven defend Christian men, I say, from this wicked doctrine! Let not the Pope impose or dispense from any laws despotically. Let him follow the rule of nature and reason, and of God's commandments, the rule of love, which refers all things to God, and to the common benefit, as the most divine of all aims.

FFOULKES.

Holy Father . . . do but reflect if it be not this rash doctrine that has given the Lutherans a pretence for those books of theirs called 'The Babylonish Captivity.' For, I take God to witness, is there any greater slavery that could be imposed on Christendom than this which is involved in the principle of these lawyers whom I speak of? . . . Far be it from us then to excuse our sins by coining a false doctrine for our convenience. . . . The prophet forbids us to make excuses for sins . . . yet here we endeavour not

merely to excuse our sins, but actually teach a doctrine by which we may call evil good, and good evil.

It must be owned that this was not language to be addressed to an arbitrary or unworthy sovereign.

We learn from Contarini himself how the Pope took it. 1538. He travelled 'one bright November day' (he seems to dwell complacently on the recollection) with him from Rome to Ostia. 'Our good old man,' he writes to Reginald Pole, RANKE. 'spake to me about the reform of the Compositions [these were the business of the Curia]. He told me he possessed the short treatise I had written, and read it in the mornings. I had ceased to hope, but now he spoke to me with such Christian feeling that my confidence revives. I now believe God will do some great thing, and not allow the gates of hell to prevail against His holy Spirit.' All that Paul had promised he began to do; he appointed commissioners to carry out the reforms needed in the Apostolic Chamber, the Ruota, the Cancellaria, and the Penitentiary; he kept the wise Ghiberti always near him; he suppressed abuses; he prepared for the Œcumenic Council generally demanded. But on this last point he spoke little; he had, in fact, small hopes of its success. He chose his deputies with so much regard to their moderation, that they were afterwards accused of Lutheranism. He resisted the persuasions of those who, like Caraffa, would have cut the matter very short by an imperious demand for recantation, implying a threat. The Bishop of Vienna wished him to instruct his Nuncio in 1540 this sense. Paul's sagacity and humanity rejected this advice. 'It is to be feared,' he said, 'that even if instant death were before them, they would endure it rather than renounce their opinions.' He had a form of reconciliation drawn up by good and wise men, in such a manner as to avoid giving offence to any, which he would send, if there seemed the least sign of recalling the wanderers into the Church. 'Would it were come to that,' said the Pope; 'we scarcely dare to hope it!'

Whatever were the faults or errors of Paul, it is certain that there was then in himself and his Consistory a real desire to discover and reform the wants and malpractices of the Church.

In those times of strong passions and violent contrasts, it is pleasant to contemplate a character like Gaspar Contarini, which stands out as a sort of personification of the sublime of moderation, liberality, and good sense. His father was one of the merchant lords of Venice. Gaspar, his eldest son, seems to have devoted himself to the priesthood as much from a love of study as from piety. Maffei said he was the most learned man of his time. It was his custom to read with close application three hours a day, never more nor less, each day beginning with a *résumé* of what was done before. The free air that was then blowing over the fields of literature, the new range of thought which opened before active minds, was delightful to Contarini; but in following the speculations of the day he retained his humble Christianity. The sober simplicity of his language was suitable to one who only wanted to impress the convictions of his judgment upon other minds, not to win their applause.

In his youth his father's rank, and his own uncommon talents, caused him to be chosen one of the Council of the Pregadi, in Venice; there, with the diffidence of a refined mind, he remained long silent: this was a grief to him, for he had much to say. At last he spoke, and obtained at once the highest esteem of the other senators, though he aimed at no graces of oratory, and uttered his ideas in simple language, and with no display of manner. Perhaps, in those troubled times, he thought to be calm and cool was a virtue or a necessity of the first order. In the exact sciences, as well as in classic literature, he kept pace with the investigations of the day. It is said that when the world was circumnavigated for the first time by the Spanish ship *Vittoria*, Contarini, then with the Court at Valladolid, was the first who explained why she returned a day later than that noted in her log-book. He was sent frequently on embassies and missions, where he showed always the utmost sagacity, judgment, and temper. When Charles V. arrived in Germany, Contarini was the ambassador who greeted him from the Pope. After the wars which devastated Italy, and ended only with the sacking of Rome, it was chiefly Contarini who reconciled Clement to the Emperor, and he helped much to restore peace.

He was sitting in the Council one Sunday, in the year 1535, when the news was brought him that Paul, the recently-elected Pope, had made him a cardinal. He did not know the Pope, and could hardly believe the announcement. He had seldom left his home except on some imperial mission; like most of the Venetians, he was passionately attached to his native city; there, too, he held high honours, and saw no superior. But it was represented that a refusal would seem disrespectful, and therefore be injurious to the Court of Rome.

In his new position he was simple, grave, and diligent as usual; dignified and gentle; striving earnestly for reform within the Church, more sometimes than was agreeable to others of the Consistory; distinguished among them for the firm and equal mind, pure moral instinct, and polished amenity which were his nature; the love of truth, the enlightened moderation, and many-sidedness which accompanied his Catholic convictions. If there existed any person who could smooth away the asperities of dispute and bring characters so dissonant into harmony, it would have been Gaspar Contarini. But besides characters and opinions, there were also personal interests and selfish ambition to be encountered; and against these the integrity and genius of Contarini were of small avail.

Such a mind was worthy to understand Ignatius; and when Gaspar knew him, he said, 'This is just the man I have always sought.' He made Ignatius his director, and helped largely to remove the difficulties that might have embarrassed him at the Papal Court.

When the companions of Ignatius arrived in Rome from Venice, each repaired at first to the hospital of his own nation; they were afterwards all received in that of St. John.

Arrival of
the com-
panions
in Rome.

They had no sooner made themselves known, than one of the enemies Ignatius had dreaded—Ortiz, procurator to the Emperor—offered them his assistance, and presented them himself to the Pope. He recognised Faber, Xavier, and some others whom he had seen in Paris, and spoke highly to Paul of

their virtues and acquirements, their voluntary poverty, and their desire to preach the Gospel in the Holy Land. Paul III., himself a learned man, delighted to hear discussions between men of letters, and frequently gave himself this recreation during his dinner, which Papal custom obliged him to take alone. He desired that the companions should be presented to him on the following day. Ortiz brought them to the Vatican, where some of the Roman theologians were ready to dispute with them. Paul gave them an argument; and, when his repast was ended, signified that they should be brought up to him, and said, 'We are exceedingly rejoiced to see so much learning joined with so much humility.' They were allowed to kiss his slipper, and he, extending his arms as if to embrace them all, told them if he could assist them in anything he would do it willingly. They answered they wished nothing but his benediction, and leave to go to Jerusalem. 'I give you leave readily,' said he, 'but I do not think you will go.' For at that time a league had been concluded between himself, the Emperor, and the Venetians, against the Turks; and the war he knew would prevent their crossing the sea.

Interview
with Paul
III.,
1537.

Faber afterwards added another request, which was granted through the Cardinal-Penitentiary, Antonio Pucci, on April 27. All of them who were not yet priests, including Ignatius, were allowed to receive holy orders from any bishop whatever, as having taken the vow of poverty, and being sufficiently instructed. For Alphonso Salmeron, the youngest, a dispensation was granted, by which he might be ordained as soon as he was twenty-three. And the Pope sent them sixty crowns for their journey to the Levant, to which a hundred and forty were afterwards added by some devout Spaniards. All these sums were returned when that intention was given up.

The com-
panions
return to
Venice,
1537.

Faber and his friends now returned to Venice; they travelled in as much poverty as before, for they would not touch any of the alms that had been given them to reach Palestine; but the time of year now made the journey easy, and the country on that coast is delightful. They arrived wearied at

Ravenna, and dispersed to beg hospitality. Rodriguez knocked at a door, which was readily opened to him, and he was asked to go upstairs; but there he found, by the aspect of three women who received him, that he was not in good company; and he rushed out of the house faster than he had entered. The sequel of the adventure was fortunate; Rodriguez placing himself in the open street, near the windows of these ladies, began preaching to the passers-by on sin, death, and judgment; the women, moved by curiosity, came to listen; and all three, smitten by conviction and remorse, asked counsel and assistance from the preacher, and entered on a better life.

In Venice they resumed their charitable labours at the hospitals; those who were not yet priests made their vows of poverty and celibacy before the Nuncio Veralli; and at last, on the 24th of June, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, Ignatius and his seven companions were admitted into holy orders by the Bishop of Arba, Vincenzo Nigusanti: their devotion and holy joy moved the bishop to tears. He said he had never performed an ordination that touched him so much.

Ignatius
and seven
of his
company
ordained
at Venice,
1537.

War was now openly declared between Solyman and the Republic; the passing to Syria was impossible; and there seemed no chance that even the end of the year would bring them nearer to their object. The new priests thought now only of preparing themselves to say their first mass; Ignatius chose to postpone this for himself. All wished to leave Venice, and seek in different parts of the Republic places where they might have retirement for the sake of their own souls, and exercise their mission to save others. Ignatius, with Faber and Laynez, went to Vicenza; Xavier and Salmeron to Sanfelice; Le Jay and Rodriguez to Bassano; Brouet and Bobadilla to Verona; Codure and Hosez to Treviso. Each in turn was to be Superior during a week. And thus they were to wait the close of the year.

They commenced now a retreat of forty days. They all said their first masses in September and October, except Ignatius. He, more conscious of unworthiness as he attained greater degrees of perfection, postponed this solemn action till the next Midsummer, and then again for six months

longer ; so that he did not celebrate the holy mysteries till Christmas-day of 1538, choosing for that occasion the Chapel of the Nativity in Santa Maria Maggiore ; ‘ as if,’ says Genelli, ‘ he had all along cherished some hope that he might visit the real Bethlehem, and there offer for the first time the body of his Lord, on the spot of His incarnation.’ But it seemed the will of Providence expressly to prohibit the expatriation of men destined to such great usefulness ; for the war with Solyman lasted during the year which they were to pass in the States of Venice, and ceased when they renounced their intention.

Vicenza.

Ignatius and his two friends obtained permission to occupy near Vicenza a ruined convent, which had been destroyed in the last war, and had neither doors nor windows. They brought thither some straw to sleep on ; they begged their daily bread, but received it very scantily. Ignatius wrote from this place the following letter to his noble friend Pietro Contarini, partly in Latin and partly in Italian, which he had only begun to learn—a curious confusion of both languages. The imperfect Latin certainly appears strange in one who had taken a doctor’s degree at Paris.

Ignatius begins in Latin :—

To the magnificent Lord Peter Contarini, my brother in Christ.

As I have related our affairs at length in letters to Don Martin Gonzaga, in which also were many things regarding yourself particularly, I will use few words now, and write not so much because it is necessary as that we may not appear unmindful of you. Hitherto by the goodness of God we have been very well ; we experience daily more and more that truth, ‘ having nothing, and yet possessing all things.’ I say, all things that the Lord has promised to those ‘ who seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness ;’ for if all things are added to those who seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, how can anything be wanting to those who seek only the righteousness of the kingdom and Him the King of Kings ? To them the blessing is not so much ‘ of the dew of Heaven and the fatness of the earth,’ as of the dew of Heaven alone ; to them, I say, who look with both eyes on celestial things. This He grants us, who, when He possessed all things, yet despoiled Himself of all for our instruction ; who, though He was in the glory of Omnipotence, and of so much knowledge and power, yet

subjected himself to the authority and judgment and will of weak humanity. But this is enough for those who can possess Christ in another way. To you it rather belongs to consider how you will use all in Him from whom you receive all, for if you cannot be wholly occupied by the one thing needful, the next thing is that the many things should be well ordered, about which you are occupied and solicitous. But I digress too much from what I intended; I return to ourselves. [*Then he comes to Italian.*] Near Vicenza, at a mile from the gate called Santa Croce, we have found a monastic place, called San Pietro in Vanello, where no one lives, and therefore the friars of Sta. Maria delle Grazie are contented [*Then Latin again, in a jumble quite incomparable*] that we remain there as long as we please, which we are doing, and shall be there some months, if God permits; and thus it only remains [*some words wanting*] that we should be good and perfect, since God's goodness never fails. Do you therefore also ask the Lord with us, that He will give us the grace of doing His holy will, which is the sanctification of all; and farewell, in Christ Jesus our Lord, who directs us all in the way of peace, which is in Himself only.

Your poor brother in the Lord.

The dilapidated convent was another Manresa to Ignatius; he had there the same celestial visions and rapturous tears. Codure joined them when his retreat was over, and they began to preach. Ignatius told Gonsalez afterwards of his own sermons, that they were greatly effective, and converted many; the companions now therefore received much more abundant alms. They went into the most frequented parts of the towns; they mounted on a stone or a bench, waved their caps, and invited the passers-by to listen to what they had to say. As they spoke Italian very imperfectly, they were sometimes taken at first for foreign jugglers or conjurors; but the spirit which animated their discourses, their earnestness, their charity, and the eloquence of their saintly and pale countenances, surrounded them before long with patient listeners, and many were won to the faith. For at that time it was to a great proportion of the people a new thing; the churches were so much deserted, and the Gospel so seldom preached.

But now at Venice a new tempest of accusation arose against Ignatius; the old stories of heresy were repeated; it was said he had fled from Spain and France to escape the

New accusations.

Inquisition ; and the Nuncio Veralli proceeded to investigate the matter, probably at the request of Ignatius himself, who always urged the authorities to examine into these statements as soon as they were revived. Veralli appears to have been easily satisfied ; but Ignatius, now returned to Venice, desired a formal recognition of his innocence, and received it on October 13, 1537. It was expressed in the fullest terms. It bore—

That the priest Ignatius of Loyola, having of himself appeared before the judges, and a term having been assigned to the witnesses, their declarations, and the defences of the accused, listened to, the sentence they pronounce is this :

Judgment
of the
Inquisitor.

The Father Ignatius of Loyola is innocent of all the imputations and calumnies that have been brought against him before our tribunal ; they are false and wholly unfounded. We declare him by these presents entirely justified, and impose silence on all who are interested in this process, certifying that the above-named Ignatius is and has ever been a priest of good and holy life, of irreproachable doctrine, of excellent reputation and condition ; that he has spread purity of morals and faith in Venice. Such is our opinion and our judgment, by which we recognise his innocence in the fullest sense.

Antonio
the her-
mit.

Simon Rodriguez was at this time so ill that his recovery was despaired of. He, along with Le Jay, was inhabiting the hermitage of St. Vito, near Bassano, where he had been received by a holy old man, named Antonio. This favour was granted them through the immediate providence of God ; for some men having formerly abandoned Antonio, after asking to join him with great seeming fervour, he resolved henceforth to live alone. But now he willingly shared his residence with these chosen persons, and gave them for a bed a large table in the corner of his cell—a luxury to them (says Bartoli) who were accustomed to lie on the ground. In the night they all rose to pray and sing psalms.

When the illness of Rodriguez became severe, Antonio brought a physician to visit him, who gave no hopes of his recovery. This report was carried to Ignatius, then himself weakened by a slow fever, yet he set out immediately with Faber (for Laynez and some of the others lay sick in the hospitals), and walked with such vigour that Faber could not always keep up with him. Once when Ignatius halted for

his friend, Faber saw that his face glowed, as it was used to do when he had been especially favoured in prayer. Ignatius told him, 'Rodriguez will not die.' The moment he entered the hermitage and embraced the sick man, Ignatius bade him be of good courage; 'for, brother Simon,' said he, 'you will not die yet,' and from that time Rodriguez began to mend. Even in this extremity he was still lying on his wooden bed. Ignatius asked that a mattrass should be given him, and the good hermit procured one immediately.

It was not at first that Antonio appreciated Ignatius; he wondered at the secular dress, the liberty of action, and unrestrained intercourse with the world, in which he and his disciples differed so much from other religious; he knew the profit of a contemplative life, and thought too little of the value of energies and time devoted to the serving God through our neighbour. He had seen Ignatius several times while Rodriguez was unable to remove; and, when he came to take leave of the worthy hermit who had tended his companion so kindly, the esteem Antonio felt for him was less than ever. But after they had separated, it was revealed to him in prayer that he had presumptuously condemned a saint; and he related with great humility 'that God had thus taught him how little you can guess the sap of a tree from its bark.'

The peasants of the neighbourhood revered Father Antonio, and long afterwards told wonderful stories of his piety and self-denial. His disciple, Gasper Gropelli, quotes several excellent sayings of his. He used to explain the words of David, 'In circuitu impii ambulans,' thus:—'Men of the world begin their circle in self-love, proceed through the creatures, and return to their own self again. Holy minds begin with love to God, proceed through love to their neighbour, and end by being absorbed in God, from whom they began.'

A rich man told him once, he was not impatient to get to the end of his journey—'the world is a very pleasant place.'

'If the road is so pleasant,' said Antonio, 'what will the palace be?'

When some one told Antonio in his sickness that he would yet live twenty years, he said, 'I would not give a quattrino

for them, if you could sell them to me.' While he was dying he often said, 'O death, I have been long expecting thee.'

The sanctity and repose of such a life, the happiness of having only God and one's own salvation to think of, instead of the constant distractions of that intercourse with persons of all ranks and characters which Ignatius imposed on his disciples, fascinated Rodriguez. When he had rejoined the others at Bassano, he longed for the safety and leisure of the hermitage. He fell into a great melancholy, and at last resolved to desert his engagements with Ignatius, and return to San Vito. As he left the house in which he lived, unknown to any one, and proceeded from Bassano towards the hermitage, he thought he saw an armed man coming to meet him, who, with fierce countenance and a sword in his hand, seemed to bar his passage. Rodriguez stopped in amazement, then took courage, and tried to go on. The figure again advanced towards him with more terrors than before, and Rodriguez fled back to the town with precipitation. Those who were near could not understand the meaning of his flight, for no one besides himself had seen the vision; but Ignatius knew all, and went out to meet him, receiving him with open arms and a smile on his countenance, as he addressed him in the words of Our Saviour, '*Modicæ fidei, quare dubitasti?*'

The year was now fast advancing, and no signs appeared of their reaching Palestine. Ignatius had assembled them all in his ruined convent near Vicenza; their lodgings were comfortless, but they wanted nothing that charity could supply, for since they began to preach they received alms in abundance. These, however, did not hinder the winds from blowing through the house everywhere—it was winter. Xavier and another fell ill. It was necessary to convey them to Vicenza; but they were placed in some old houses adjoining the Hospital of Incurables, hardly better protected than before, only that they had a bed to lie on—one for both

¹ His disciple Gropelli entered the Society of Ignatius, but 'accustomed to independence,' he was found unfit for it. Antonio died in 1552. His hermitage was given to the Jesuits, but they soon surrendered it to the Capuchins.

patients. They had alternately ague fits of burning and shivering, and as they were differently affected, it was impossible to give relief to both. They had plenteous compensation granted them. Xavier was one day visibly consoled and strengthened by St. Jerome, for whom he had an especial reverence. He was told by him that he would be sent to preach in Bologna, and that a cross should be given him there, whereby his soul should receive great profit; and all this happened (*'E come seppe farlo un tal personaggio, il consolò e rinvigorì con parole di Paradiso'*).

When Xavier and his friend were recovered, Ignatius resolved to set out for Rome. He would go thither accompanied by only two others; and the remaining seven were to station themselves in cities which had Universities, and carry on their missionary functions among the young men. Xavier, as he had been told, was sent to Bologna, along with Bobadilla; Rodriguez and Le Jay to Ferrara, where Ercole and Renée kept their brilliant court; Salmeron, not yet a priest, with Brouet, to Sienna; Codure and Hosez to Padua. But before they separated, all desired that some rules should be laid down for their manner of life; and they resolved on these:—

They were to live on alms, and reside in hospitals everywhere. They were each in turn to be Superior for a week, to preach in the open places of the towns, and wherever else they were permitted. In their discourses they were to dwell chiefly on the rewards of virtue and the punishment of vice; they were to speak by the Spirit of God, rather than with human eloquence. They were to instruct children in Christian doctrine, and the principles of moral life; to seize every occasion of doing good; never to receive money for any service rendered; in all cases they were to desire nothing but to benefit their fellow-creatures for the love of God.

They then discussed what answer should be given when strangers asked their rule and their name; in short, who they were. Ignatius had already long decided this, or rather had received the decision from God. For those who knew him believed fully that the name of Jesus was communicated to him in the cavern of Manresa, when the Lord Himself traced for him the outline of the new Society in the

The name
given to
the
Society.

meditation of the two standards. He said now to his disciples, that since they had united for the sake of our Saviour, to do His work, and fight for His glory, it seemed fit that they should call themselves by His name, and declare that they belonged to the Company of Jesus, that word in Spanish having a military meaning. Contrary to his usual custom, Ignatius did not discuss this point, but announced his intention at once. Then they separated for their respective missions.

Le Jay at
Ferrara.
1537.

Le Jay was chosen to preach at Ferrara; partly, it was supposed, because the Duchess Renée was known to have a strong attachment to her own countrymen, and Le Jay was French. But she would not see him, and the two years he remained there passed without any personal intercourse. Not the Duchess only, but a large party at the Court, were exceedingly glad to hear the new doctrines. They had welcomed Calvin when he came there two years before, soon after the publication of his 'Institutes,' under the name of Charles d'Espeville, in the guise of a young man devoted to literature, which the Este family patronised, and in this character he was presented to Ercole himself. And it is probable that the Duke's own zeal against the Protestant party was by no means vehement at that time.

Vittoria Colonna¹ seems to have first induced him to patronise the new order. She had heard of them at Rome, met Le Jay or Rodriguez at Ferrara, by accident, learned that they had lodged at the Hospital of St. Anne, and went there the same day. She inquired how they lived; she was told they passed part of the night in prayer, begged their daily bread in the city, not choosing to take it from the poor in the hospital, led a hard life, never warming themselves at the fire, though the season was cold; they spoke only of God; they spent their whole time in doing good. Vittoria placed herself under their direction, introduced them to the Ducal Court, and prevailed on Ercole to take Le Jay for his confessor. He afterwards asked him to

¹ 'Cette Aspasia pure et noble,' says Lamartine. Her husband was Marchese di Pescara.

become tutor to his son ; this would have obliged him to live at the Court, and Ignatius refused leave. He had acceded to the same proposal in the case of the King of Portugal ; perhaps the weak and harsh character of Ercole, and the divisions of the Court and Ducal family caused this difference.

The sorrows of Renée, well known to us through the touching verses of Marot, are commonly attributed by the Protestant party to her Calvinism. They probably were owing much more to her French descent and partialities, and the misfortune of a husband who disliked her, and hated her country. It appears that her forbearance only made him worse :—

O dur mari, rempli de violence,
Qui s'endurcit par les choses bénignes !

In the absence of all her kindred, and of the companions who had once made her home at Ferrara cheerful, banished by Ercole, she still found a consolation which Calvin perhaps would have grudged her, in

Les saints où elle fait ses vœux
A chacune heure.

Marot expressly describes Ercole's enmity to the French as the cause of Renée's afflictions :—

Pourquoi le train de notre nation
Vent-il défaire ?
Faute d'aimer l'aiguillonne, à ce faire
En lui engendre un désir de déplaire
A celle qui met à lui complaire
Merveilleux soin.

Vittoria, who, like others of the Colonna family, warmly admired Bernard Ochino, the half heretic preacher, whom they had heard often at Naples, was charmed to find him now at Ferrara, and through her interest he preached that Lent in the cathedral.

Seven years later he returned there a fugitive, and under the ban of the Church. Renée assisted him to fly, as it was said she had aided Calvin before.

Ignatius
sets out for
Rome.
La Storta,

Ignatius, still accompanied by Faber and Laynez, set out for Rome. At a little village, called La Storta, about six miles from the Eternal City, Ignatius entered a church to pray. While his spirit communed with God, a wonderful vision was vouchsafed him ; and a rapturous communication, not to be detailed in words, by which God the Father made it clear to him that He had admitted him to an ineffable nearness to the Divine Son. Then Ignatius saw Jesus holding His cross. 'He gave me to Christ as a portion,' said Ignatius to Gonsalez, 'to be henceforward consecrated wholly to His service.' The Saviour seeming to accept him, looked on him with Divine benignity, and spoke these words — 'Ego tibi Romæ propitius ero.' It appears from the relation of Laynez, that Ignatius did not understand what was the meaning of this sentence. 'I do not know,' said he, 'what is reserved for us ; perhaps we shall be martyred at Rome.' 'He told me, too,' says Laynez, 'that Christ had appeared to him raising the cross in His arms, and near Him was the Eternal Father ; who said to our Saviour, "I will that you should take this man to be your servant." Jesus received him, and said, "I will have you serve Me."'

Father Laynez, when he was general of the Society, related this history one day before all the companions who were at Rome. Ribadeneira says, that he was present when Ignatius was framing the Constitutions ; he said, that in serving God before the altar, he sometimes found himself in the same state of mind as when the Eternal Father appeared to him, and placed him with His Son ('quando el Padre Eterno me puso con su Hijo').

On this journey, they were sometimes taken for offenders under the ban of the Church, going to ask absolution of the Pope. When they came in sight of Rome, Laynez took off his shoes ; he would enter its holy walls with the utmost show of humility.

Before they arrived, Ignatius gave his younger friends many cautions and much advice. 'Let us avoid all relations with women,' he said, 'unless those of the highest rank.' He did not choose that his disciples should be the confessors or directors of women ; and they adhered to this rule as long as he lived.

They entered Rome in November. They begged alms at

Arriving
at Rome.
1537.

first; but some rich Spaniards who knew them would not allow this, and maintained them all in the Spanish Hospital of St. Iago.

The fathers left in the northern towns worked with various success. At Padua, after Hosez and Codure began to preach in the places and hospitals, the clergy, suspecting some concealed designs, arrested and put them in prison. They remained but one night, for many came forward next day to give evidence of what they did and taught, and they were dismissed with permission to preach as often as they pleased. That night they spent in rejoicing and singing psalms; Hosez, thankful for this first suffering endured for his Lord's sake, was full of exultation. He was already nearer another release than he anticipated. For soon after this, he preached in the great Place of Padua, on the text, 'Watch and pray, for you know neither the day nor the hour.' He had hardly finished, when he was seized by an attack of fever; and he soon knew that he must apply his sermon to himself. He withdrew to the hospital, and prepared for death. Full of sweet hopes and aspirations, he expired in the peace of the Lord; like the labourer in the Gospel, though the last to enter the vineyard, he was first called to receive his reward. His countenance, which had before no comeliness, became after his death in a manner transfigured. Codure gazed on him with awe, and wept for joy.

Padua.

Death of
Hosez.

Ignatius was then at the monastery of Monte Cassino; he heard of the danger of Hosez; and, whilst he recommended him in prayer, he beheld his spirit surrounded by a glorious light carried by angels into Paradise.¹ Some days after, while mass was going on, at the words of the Confiteor, 'Omni-bus sanctis,' Ignatius said that he saw the heavens opened, and, among the spirits of the redeemed, he beheld his friend, the dead Hosez, radiant with a celestial light. And for many days the delightful vision was frequently renewed.

Codure was insufficient for the work of Padua. Simon Rodriguez came to him from Ferrara, leaving Le Jay there;

¹ The vision was shown him on the spot where the Patriarch St. Benedict saw the soul of Germanus, Bishop of Capua, ascend to Heaven in a globe of fire.

Codure
falls ill.

and soon had the whole burden to bear, for Codure also fell ill. There was in Padua a rich and noble ecclesiastic, who had been persuaded by him to reform his disordered life. Out of gratitude he wished now to receive him into his own house, and Codure assented, and was removed there. Rodriguez also left the hospital where he had at first lodged, moved by the charitable importunity of a lady, whose sons had earnestly recommended him to her. One of them had obtained through Rodriguez the mercy of a holy and peaceful death; the other, grace to enter a religious order. She was alone now, for she was a widow. He seems to have remained in her house till Ignatius called him to Rome.

Bologna.

Xavier and Bobadilla meanwhile toiled at Bologna. A few days after they arrived there, Xavier went to offer mass in the chapel where St. Dominic was interred; and his heart expanded with such sweet emotion, that he shed tears of joy. A noble lady, one of the Third Order of St. Dominic, who had come from Spain to live and die near the tomb of the Saint, desirous to know the stranger who appeared so much affected, went with one of her friends to the hospital where he lived, and requested an interview. He spoke to them on spiritual subjects, with so much unction, that the companion alluded to, Isabella Casalina, also a member of the Third Order, perceived that he was one inspired by the Lord. And she described him with such admiration to her uncle, Don Casalini, of Forli,¹ that he persuaded Xavier to leave the hospital, and come to his own house. But he could not induce him to live with less austerity, or to take any food but the bread given him in alms. He taught, preached, or visited the poor incessantly; and waited with joy for the tribulation which St. Jerome had told him he would meet in Bologna.

It came in the shape of a quartan fever, which afflicted him several months—doubtless the result of poor food and excessive fatigues. He did not, in consequence, desist from any of his customary labours. He was rewarded by great results from his preaching, and the universal love and reverence of the people, which had not diminished when, three years afterwards, he passed a few days in Bologna, with the

¹ Canon of St. Petronius, and rector of San Lucia.

Ambassador of Portugal, on his way from Rome to the Indies.

Xavier remained at Bologna till Ignatius called him to Rome to transact the business of the order.

Casalini, his host, said 'he was sparing in his words, but wonderfully efficacious;' and won all hearts by that ineffable charity which gave such sweetness to their manners, that in Xavier, as in Ignatius, it seemed, we are told, like an enchantment.

Paul III., far from being unfavourable to Loyola, gave him the most cordial reception, readily accepted his offers of service, and, in order to make his companions useful at once, he desired that Faber should give lessons on the Scriptures, and Laynez on scholastic theology, in the College of Sapienza; while Ignatius endeavoured to awake and convert more generally by his instructions, and especially by the 'Spiritual Exercises.' But he first returned the money he had received for the journey to Jerusalem, and sent back four golden crowns to Valencia, which Martin Perez had given him. He went with Faber and Laynez to visit the Marquis of Aguilar, then ambassador to Paul from Charles V.; and, mention being made of reports already spread to the detriment of their company, Aguilar intimated that the world called them hypocrites; and said, that under so much external humility they concealed great ambition, and came to Rome to seek a hat or a mitre. Loyola was at first so astonished, that he could only make the sign of the cross. Then, he stood up and made a solemn vow never to accept for himself or his people any dignity whatever, unless he were obliged, on pain of sin, by the Vicar of Jesus Christ; and he renewed his vow some while after, in the presence of Cardinal Carpi, protector of the order, and its kind and liberal benefactor in later times.

Marquis
d'Aguilar.

Accusa-
tion of
ambition.

Ridolfo
Pio Carpi.

Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, who doubtless knew Ignatius by the letters of his cousin Pietro, was one of his earliest friends in Rome. He spoke of him to Ortiz, once the enemy of Ignatius at Paris; and Ortiz, moved by what he heard, asked to be led through the 'Exercises' in the solitude of his place at Monte Cassino; there he passed more than a month,

Gaspar
Contarini.

Ortiz at
Monte
Cassino.

wholly abstracted from the world. He said, afterwards, he had learned more religion in those forty days than he had taught others all his life through; that he found then the great difference there was between learning in order to teach, and learning for his own salvation; and, that he valued more the least illumination of his solitude than the most curious acquisitions of all human science. He wished to become one of the Society of Jesus, and to bind himself by vows like the others; but from this Ignatius dissuaded him, because he was too far advanced in years to commence a new way of life, and was engaged already in a service that enabled him to do much for the glory of God. Ignatius was lodged in the Novitiate of Albaneta, now a ruin; but the unroofed refectory remains, and is still shown by the monks as the place frequented by St. Ignatius.

It was at Monte Cassino that Ignatius learned the death of the beatified Hosez; and it was returning from thence that he met with the young disciple who was to replace him—Francis Strada,¹ formerly slightly known to him in Spain. He had come to seek his fortunes at Rome. Ortiz had placed him about Cardinal Caraffa; but Strada, full of talent and spirit, soon grew wearied of a Court where men and events move slowly, thought himself neglected, and was then starting for Naples, where he meant to become a soldier. Ignatius, skilful to move a mind thus disposed, persuaded him that the world would continue to disappoint him everywhere, and that there is but one banner under which it is worth a wise man's while to serve. Strada turned back with Ignatius, and never afterwards left him. He had but 'a slight powdering' of Latin, and his Italian was imperfect; but his eloquence had an extraordinary gift of moving sluggish and hard hearts; even many who did not understand the language he preached in, were touched by his expressive countenance, his voice, and action. This terrified him; and he meditated and prayed much on the words of St. Paul: 'Lest having preached to others, I myself should be cast away.' He became one of the most eminent preachers of the Society of Jesus, and spread its influence in Flanders, Portugal, and Spain.

¹ Properly Estrada.

Before Easter, 1538, Loyola summoned the companions he had left behind to join him in Rome. Everywhere they departed with the regrets and reverence of the population; and from Padua some of the principal clergy accompanied Codure and Rodriguez as far as Loretto. They found their Father, with Faber and Laynez, lodging in a vineyard at the foot of Trinità de Monti, in a small house lent him by Quirino Garzonio, a relation of Cardinal de Cupis; but a larger place was now wanted, and Codace, a rich man of the Pope's household, and much in his favour, soon gave it them. He was the first Roman who entered the company. Ignatius made him master of the house—for he was wise as well as generous—and placed such confidence in him, that it was said he never refused him anything. 1538.

The house which was the gift (or loan) of Codace, was at the Torre de Melangolo, still remaining. A room is still shown there as that occupied by Ignatius. Xavier mentions the tower in his letters from India, when he pours out his warm affection for the brethren he had left. Hence he took his departure for the Indies; and in the small square room of the tower Ignatius embraced him for the last time. There is a remarkable gateway, surrounded by stone carving, which must be older than the days of Ignatius, and may probably have furnished an incident in the story of Ribadeneira.

The company preached, served the churches, taught all ages and classes, attracted numbers round them, and soon effected a visible improvement in the people. The sacraments, long neglected, were again sought for; the clergy, after the example of the new teachers, roused themselves and their flocks; and Sunday sermons, almost discontinued, became again common throughout the city. The unction, simplicity, and fervour of Ignatius made his addresses so powerful, and his life gave such efficacy to all he taught, that, though Laynez, Bobadilla, and Salmeron were giving sermons at this time with all the resources of their great talents and uncommon learning, none succeeded like Ignatius in winning souls. Even men of the highest attainments listened to him with docile admiration; and the harvest was so abundant that, when the day was over, and these new

BARTOLI.

apostles met to thank Heaven for their success, their holy joy and thankfulness almost supplied the place of food and rest, and they sometimes forgot to beg the alms they lived on.

But close on this prosperity followed a persecution more dangerous than any the companions had yet met with. It is related in a letter written by Ignatius at the end of the same year to the friend of his early life, Doña Isabel Roser :—

December 19.

1538.
Letter to
Isabel
Roser,
describing
the attacks
on the
company.

I think you will be surprised and disturbed not to receive letters from me oftener. I wish I could write more frequently, persuaded as I am that if I were to forget all the good that God has done me through you, with such love and compassion, His Divine Majesty would forget me also, for you have never ceased helping me, out of love and reverence for Him. If I have been long in writing, it was because I hoped from day to day, and every moment, to conclude a business that concerns us ; for I like to inform you precisely about all our affairs here. I do not mean that we have been personally attacked, or brought before the tribunals ; but, by rumours scattered among the people and inconceivable denunciations, we were made suspected and disliked by some of the faithful, to their great scandal, so that we were forced to present ourselves before the Legate and Governor (the Pope having gone to Nice), because of the great scandal some received about us. We named many who had declared against us, and called on them to say in the presence of our superiors what they had seen reprehensible in our teaching and life. And that you may understand the affair from the beginning, I will partly explain it. Rather more than a year since, three of us came to Rome, as I remember to have told you. My two companions began at once to teach gratuitously at the Sapienza by order of the Pope, one professing theology, and the other scholastic theology. I myself only gave the ‘Spiritual Exercises,’ in and out of Rome. We sought in this way to gain some men of learning and worldly consideration, not for ourselves, but for the honour and glory of God ; for our glory is to preach and serve the Divine Majesty. We acted thus, in order to find less opposition among the worldly, and to preach more successfully the Holy Word of God ; for, judging by appearances, we work on a soil fertile in bad fruit, sterile in good. When we had by these ‘Exercises,’ with the help of God, obtained the aid of some persons distinguished for rank and knowledge, we resolved after we had been there four

months, to assemble in this city,¹ and when we were all together, we asked permission to preach, exhort, and confess. The Legate gave us very extensive powers, though meanwhile many injurious reports about us had been carried to his Eminence, which retarded the expedition of the permissions we desired. When we had them,² four or five of us began to preach in the churches on Sundays and feasts, and in other churches to instruct children on the commandments of God, mortal sins, &c. The two lectures at the Sapienza, and confessions, were also continued. They all preached in Italian, I only in Spanish. I had a large audience at all my sermons, a great many more than we expected, for three reasons³: 1. It was an unusual time—we began directly after Easter, when other preachers of Lent and the festivals left off;—and it is customary here to preach only during Lent and Advent. 2. Because many men, after the devotions of Lent, are inclined by their sinful disposition to return to the pleasures and diversions of the world rather than works of piety. 3. Because we neglect the ornaments and arts of oratory; and we have learned, by much experience, that our Lord in His infinite goodness does not forget us, and deigns to make use of us, in spite of our unworthiness, to show His mercy to others. We appeared, then, before the tribunal; two of our three adversaries were also summoned, one proving quite different from what was expected; the others whom we had begged to come forward were so confounded, that they had no longer the wish or courage to appear, and they obtained a prohibition against our pursuing the matter before other judges. As these were rich persons, one having 1,000 and the other 600 ducats of income, and besides were men of authority and of the Court, and one a considerable personage, they presented the case to the Cardinals and other persons of importance, so that they raised for a long while many obstacles against us. The two chiefs of this little cabal at last presented themselves, at the time appointed, before the Legate and Governor, and declared they had heard our sermons, our instructions, &c., and their testimony completely justified our doctrines and morals. Though the Legate and Governor much esteemed us, they wished the matter put an end to, for the sake of these and other persons. We, on the contrary, repeatedly asked what we thought perfectly just, that it should be explicitly declared if our doctrine was good or bad, so that there might be no more

¹ This took place end of March, 1538.

² Cardinal Caraffa gave them, May 3, 1538.

³ He preached in the Church of Our Lady of Montserrat. Ortiz never missed one of these discourses.

scandal among the people against us ; but we could obtain nothing either for law or conscience sake. However, no one henceforth dared to speak against us for fear of prosecution. As we could not obtain a sentence, one of our friends spoke to the Pope when he returned from Nice, and begged him to give us the declaration we wanted. He promised to do it ; but as nothing followed, one of us spoke to him on the subject. The Pope, having gone after this interview to one of his country houses, I went thither, and talked alone with his Holiness in his apartment a whole hour. When I had fully set before him our designs and our projects, I related candidly how many times in Spain and Paris proceedings had been taken against me, how often I had been imprisoned at Alcalá and Salamanca, not choosing that he should learn these occurrences from any but myself ; and in order to induce him to order an investigation, so that one way or other we might have a judgment or declaration respecting our doctrine. Finally, since, in order to preach or exhort the people with success, we needed a good repute, not only before God, but man ; and that all suspicion of our teaching and morals might be at an end, I prayed his Holiness, in the name of all my companions, to set all to rights by naming a judge of his own choice, so that we might be censured and punished if any fault were discovered, and protected if we were not reprehensible. The Pope, as far as I could conclude from my conversation with him, heard my request with favour, praised our abilities, and the use we made of them for good. Some time after, having spoken to us in terms worthy of a true pastor, he ordered the Governor, a bishop, and the highest judicial authorities, both ecclesiastical and civil, in Rome to proceed with the affair at once. He began the enquiry all over again, with the utmost care. The Pope having returned to Rome, expressed himself many times publicly, and in presence of many, in a manner highly honourable for us. For it is the custom that every fortnight several persons assemble at the Vatican to dispute before the Pontiff during his dinner. These favourable words of the Sovereign Pontiff in a great measure dispersed the storm, and the sky daily becomes brighter for us ; so that our affairs proceed, I think, as well as we could wish, for the service and glory of God our Lord, and already several bishops urgently ask us to come and do some good in their dioceses, by the help of God ; but we remain tranquil, in the hope of still better times. By the grace of God our Lord we have at last obtained the sentence we desired. But about this something happened which is really wonderful. You must know a rumour was spread here that we had escaped from several countries, among others, Paris, Spain,

and Venetia. Now, just at the moment when the judgment was about to be pronounced, God deigned to send hither the President Figueroa, who imprisoned me at Alcalá, and proceeded against me; the Vice-General of the Legation of Venice, who had enquired concerning me when we began to preach in the States of Venice; the Dr. Ori, who had instituted a process against me at Paris: and the Bishop of Vicenza, in whose diocese three or four of us had preached. All spoke in our favour. Moreover, the cities of Sienna, Bologna, and Ferrara sent attestations for us. The Duke of Ferrara, not satisfied with this, and taking our affair to heart, wrote to our ambassador, and condescended to send several letters to our Society, declaring that he considered our business as if it were his own, because he knew all the good we had done in his town and in others, and though we had much difficulty in remaining in Ferrara, on account of the obstructions raised against us there. We give thanks to God our Lord that up to this time we have never ceased preaching two or three times a day on holidays, and giving two instructions every day, while others heard confessions, and some gave the 'Spiritual Exercises.' Now that we have a decision in our favour, we hope to extend our preachings and lessons to children. Although the soil be dry and sterile, and that we meet so much opposition, we cannot say that we have been without work, or that God our Lord has not done for us much more than we could imagine. I will not here enter into details, lest I should write too long, only I can say, generally, that God our Lord has fully contented us. I cannot but tell you, however, that four or five new companions have resolved to join us, and persist for many days past in this design. We do not dare receive them, for we have been reproached with this, among other things, that we wanted to found a congregation or an order without authority from the Holy See. Though we do not yet live in common, we are nevertheless united by the same manner of life, that we may meet hereafter; and we hope that God our Lord will assemble us very soon for His greater glory.

Rome, 19th Dec. 1538.

While I wrote this letter, the Pope has ordered, by the Governor, that in accordance with the prescriptions of the law, schools for children should be opened in the town, that we may instruct them in Christian doctrine, as we had already begun to do.

But the charitable reserve of Ignatius leaves some details to fill up. The cause at first of this attack was a Piedmontese monk, named Augustin, and of the order of Augustines, who had adopted the heresies of Luther, and taught them under

The monk
Augustin.

1538.

an appearance of great devotion; and, having considerable talent as well as boldness, he was listened to by large numbers of people, and with great applause. Paul III. had now gone to Nice, where Francis I. and Charles V. were about to meet, in the hope, realised but imperfectly, that he might induce both monarchs to keep peace between themselves, and unite their forces against the Turks. Rome, thus deprived of its sovereign, appeared a favourable field for the efforts of Augustin; but he began with the utmost caution. He preached for some time without alluding to any disputed points, and when his simple, natural, and intelligent discourses had procured for him a high degree of confidence, he insinuated with prudent dexterity the doctrines he desired to introduce concerning Papal authority, the value of indulgences, of celibacy, and of good works. Salmeron and Laynez heard Augustin preach, and perceived what he was preparing to do. After several sermons had confirmed their suspicions, they went to see him, and with friendly remonstrance endeavoured to dissuade him from the Lutheran views. Brother Augustin repulsed them with contempt, told them they were ignorant and malicious, and that the suffrage of all Rome would be on his side if they presumed to find a fault. Thus baffled, the Spaniards ceased to notice Augustin, but in all their discourses brought prominently forward the disputed topics. Augustin now attacked them on precisely the grounds on which they had censured him. He uttered from the pulpit a furious accusation of heresy against Ignatius—‘a wolf, disguised as a shepherd, who had committed frightful ravages in several of the first Universities of Europe . . . under the mask of sanctity. Rome, though perhaps late, ought not to show herself less prudent than Paris, Salamanca, and Venice, where Ignatius, convicted of heresy, escaped death only by flight. . . But even in Rome,’ said Augustin, ‘there are men of incorruptible faith, belonging to his own nation, who have renounced him. There is one especially, who, attracted at first by this man, has left him with horror.’

These ‘men of incorruptible faith’ were Spaniards—Pedro of Castille, Francis Muderra, and one Berrera—devoted to Augustin, who helped to spread his doctrines; the ‘one

especially' was Michel Navarro, that dependant of Xavier who had tried to murder Ignatius at Paris, then desired to join his new community, then left it, then professed repentance, and at Venice asked again to be received as one of the brethren. When Ignatius refused to enlist so unstable a character, Michel became his enemy and calumniator, and aided Augustin with all his powers of falsehood, spreading stories of the worst nature, relating to facts he pretended to have witnessed. He was promised a sum of money if he would carry a formal accusation against Ignatius before Conversini, then Governor of Rome. The effect of this proceeding and of the accusations diligently repeated, soon showed itself; the new preachers became suddenly, and almost universally, the objects of dread and avoidance; the charm and power of their exhortations was attributed to witchcraft; all feared being involved in the punishments that were supposed impending over them, and even two priests whom the Cardinal Legate had given to help them in hearing confessions, and who better than others could have borne witness to their lives and doctrines, dreading to share these suspicions of heresy, fled from the city, and even from the Papal States. Ignatius was undisturbed; he encouraged his companions, he thought upon the vision of La Storta, recognised the cross, and humbly prayed a fulfilment of the promise. This was now near at hand. One friend remained faithful to Ignatius, and this one, Quirino Garzonio, was able to do him effectual service. For when his kinsman, Cardinal de Cupis, head of the Sacred College, reproached him for his intercourse with men accused, and perhaps even convicted, of great crimes, he remonstrated, and declared what he knew from experience of his friends' work and strict loyalty to the Church. But De Cupis answered with patient benevolence, 'that Garzonio was under the influence of enchantments used by Ignatius to subdue men's judgments and hearts.' 'You do not know,' said he, 'what convincing proofs of their wickedness I have in my possession. Depend upon it, these men are very different from what you suppose.' All this was repeated by Garzonio: Ignatius defended the Cardinal. He knew him to be really a good man, and was sure that if he were allowed an inter-

view with him, he, De Cupis, would entirely change his opinion.

Garzonio therefore asked this as a favour. 'Let him come,' said De Cupis, 'and I shall treat him as he deserves.' And so he did, but in a sense opposite to that in which he had spoken; for De Cupis himself related to Garzonio, that after a conversation of nearly two hours, while Garzonio in another room waited the result, he was not only convinced, but so moved with admiration and contrition, that he knelt before Ignatius, and asked his forgiveness. He brought him out of his cabinet, with every possible show of regard, and promised him in this, and all other matters, all the service in his power; he also bade his almoner take care that Loyola and his companions should daily receive bread and wine, as much as they needed, and this charity was continued as long as De Cupis lived.

1538.

Thus strengthened, Loyola appeared before ¹ Conversini, and asked for an immediate trial. On the day fixed, Michel Navarro declared on oath, that on three occasions, at Alcalá, Paris, and Venice, he could bear witness that Ignatius of Loyola had been condemned for heresy and other crimes, and only saved himself from condign punishment by flight. Ignatius listened with composure, then showed a letter to Navarro, and asked him if he knew the handwriting. Navarro answered that it was his own. Ignatius then read the letter, addressed to some friend of Navarro's; it spoke of Ignatius and his virtues in the highest terms of admiration, and at some length related what he himself had seen. Navarro turned pale, hesitated in attempting to answer, and at last kept silence, with entire discomfiture.

The audience was then considered as terminating in the full justification of Ignatius, so that nothing more needed to be said. Doubtless the protection of De Cupis had a great part in this result.

Navarro was soon after banished for calumny, Augustin and the two others offered a public recantation, and used all the intercession they could procure to induce Ignatius to be satisfied. But he, warned by experience of the strength of

¹ Benedetto Conversini, Bishop of Bertinoro, Vice-Camerarius, and now Governor in the Pope's absence.

life that exists in falsehood, thought no protection sufficient against future attacks without a formal judgment and sentence. He seems to have stood alone in what may have appeared at the time an uncharitable perseverance. The Legate and judges, and even some of his companions, thought he had obtained enough in the simple retracting of his accusers. He expresses himself thus in a letter written (in Latin) to his friend Pietro Contarini, at Venice; it is dated December 2, 1538. 'We know,' he says, 'that this will not prevent us from being blamed hereafter; nor do we seek such an exemption; we wish only to defend our honour, the holy doctrine, and way of life that we profess. If we are called ignorant, rude, ineloquent, or even bad, unstable, or deceitful, we will bear it in silence, by the grace of God. But we were afflicted when the doctrine we preached was said to be erroneous, and the life we had adopted blamable; for these two things do not belong to us, but to Christ and His Church.' He adds that he does not wish the guilty parties to be punished; he seeks only a full recognition of his innocence.

And now came to light the wonderful coincidence by which, as Ignatius relates to Doña Isabel Roser, the three persons who could best prove the innocence of Ignatius had come to Rome on private business. Figueroa from Alcalá; Ori, the Dominican Inquisitor, from Paris; and Gaspar de Doces, Vicar-General in the Venetian States. They all bore willing testimony to the Christian zeal of Ignatius, to the excellence of his teaching, and his exemplary life. After this, the calumny having fallen to the ground against the leader, it was still desirable to clear his companions, and for this too the Lord provided. For, as soon as the story of their accusation became known, the bishops and clergy who had seen their work and ways of living, in Paris and the places where they had preached in Italy, were earnest in sending the most favourable testimony respecting them; and Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, ordered his ambassador at Rome to do and say all he could for Le Jay and Rodriguez.

In spite of all this, Conversini seems to have been unwilling to proceed to any more explicit condemnation of Augustin and his colleagues; and at last, to put an end to Loyola's

importunities, he announced that the Legate would have the cause considered as already decided, and ordered both parties to keep silence in future. We know by the letter to Doña Isabel how the justice refused by Conversini was granted by the Pope, after his return from Nice, in an interview which Ignatius had with him at Frascati; and how, after the inquiry had been recommenced, and brought to a triumphant issue, by the witnesses who came forward on behalf of Ignatius and those who taught along with him, a sentence was pronounced which, on this point, silenced his enemies for ever; this species of accusation was never renewed during his life. 'Not only,' said the sentence, 'had no fault been found in these persons, either in law or in fact, but the excellence of their life and doctrine was fully shown; and while their accusers were proved to have uttered only false and empty statements, the best men, on the contrary, had given the strongest testimony in their favour.'

The calumniators left Rome, but did not ultimately escape. Muderra, afterwards himself convicted of heresy, was condemned to death, but escaped from prison; Pedro of Castille, tried at the same time, was imprisoned for life. But long afterwards, Navarro, confiding in the charity of one he truly knew to be a saint, asked assistance from Ignatius in his misfortunes, and received it; and Pedro, moved by the grace of God, in his long solitude, died a true penitent in the arms of a Jesuit Father named Avellaneda. Barrera, at the hour of his death, which was premature and sudden, declared the innocence of Ignatius. Only Augustin, the original cause of all, came to a dismal end. He fled to Geneva, laid aside his monk's habit, and published there a work opposed to the Church; but leaving Geneva for Spain after a time, he fell into the cruel power of the Inquisition, and was put to death.

1538.

Towards the end of this year, Rome was visited by a terrible famine, made more disastrous by an unusually severe winter. The people were lying down in the streets and squares, hoping to excite compassion, but too feeble to seek it. Distress was everywhere; many who were used to give

charity to Ignatius and his company, now needed it themselves ; nevertheless, the faith of these good men did not wait on prudence ; but they lifted up those poor dying creatures, carried them into their own house, gave up their beds to them, or placed them on straw spread on the floor. They were living then in the spacious building which Codace had lent them, at the Torre di Melangolo ; Ignatius removed to the old house where the Gesù now stands, about a year afterwards. In this large residence they collected more than 400 people ; and from the piety of rich persons, moved to give all they could spare into the hands of men so much respected, they soon received so many donations, in furniture, food, and money, that they were able to purchase covering for the most destitute ; it is even said, that during the period of distress, which lasted till harvest, about 3,000 persons received assistance through them. Nor is this unlikely, for the recent trial and its issue had raised them to a great height of reverence in the popular mind ; and their humble and self-denying way of living inspired a perfect confidence in their disinterestedness. They used this new occasion of intercourse with the poor to benefit their souls, and few hearts were hardened enough to resist the exhortations of men so compassionate and so devoted. These poor creatures when first received into the house were exhorted to confess their sins ; they were instructed in Christian doctrine ; heard frequent and well-adapted discourses ; had fixed times of common prayer ; and they often became true converts. Some, under the impulse of remorse and gratitude, begged that they might remain with Ignatius as long as they lived. From the destitute, these sentiments ascended to the rich ; and among all classes, up to the highest, there was but one voice respecting the foreign priests. Many persons, led by curiosity alone to visit the house where the Fathers lived, were impelled to become partners in the good work, and even took off part of their own clothing to wrap up some not yet provided for. The nobles, unwilling to do little while these priests, themselves living on alms, did so much, placed large sums at their disposal. Margaret of Austria, daughter of Charles V., procured them great assistance ; she seems from the first to have been attached to the Society, made

Codure her director, and after his death prevailed on Ignatius himself to take his place. After her unpropitious marriage with Ottavio Farnese, she continued to correspond with him ; some of these letters remain.

1539,
Letter to
Don Mar-
tin.

The storm that had now passed away left Ignatius to prepare for his first mass full of peace and thankfulness ; recognising in the depths of his heart that the Lord had been favourable to him in Rome. He wrote to his brother Martin, on the 15th February, 1539 :—

I went at Christmas to the Sta. Maria Maggiore, and said there, with the help and grace of God, my first mass, in the chapel which contains the cradle where the infant Jesus was laid.

This letter was never received, for though Ignatius did not know it, his brother had died two months before.

When Ignatius had not been long in Rome, a young man came there whom he had known at Barcelona—Michele Arrovira, much in favour at the Court of Prince Philip. Ignatius had one day said to him, not in answer to anything he had told him, but guessing his thoughts : ‘ You intend to marry ! Alas ! how you will repent it ; what trials await you ! ’ And this happened. At Rome he met Ignatius coming from Ara Coeli, and showed him a letter from Francis Borgia, then Governor of Catalonia ; his wife Eleanor was still alive. ‘ You will one day,’ said Ignatius, ‘ see the man who wrote that letter a member of the company of Jesus, and its head.’

And this prophecy, too, Arrovira saw fulfilled.

It ought never to be forgotten, that in the times when Loyola entered on his religious life, a woeful depravity of morals had spread far and wide ; many clergy were among its most deplorable examples ; the convents were infected with the vices of the outer world.¹

The Popes had not overlooked this : Nicholas V., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Julius II., and the illustrious Leo X. had all examined, complained loudly, and taken measures for reform. Adrian VI., only a few years before, had in a brief addressed to the Diet of Nuremberg, acknowledged the corruptions of the Church, with a sincerity worthy of a noble and Christian mind, promised reforms, and asked assistance and advice.

Paul III. applied himself vigorously to correct these abuses ; and, in 1538, commissioned trustworthy persons to investigate and report. These declared, that even in the Universities, errors contrary to faith were publicly taught, and that great scandals existed among the clergy and in the convents. To remove this last grievance, they proposed that the several communities should be (without exception, as far as appears) forbidden to receive novices ; so that the old set of monks and nuns having died out, a new generation might be trained in the spirit of their primitive rule. The Pope rejected this plan ; but, that it had ever been suggested shows how unpropitious the moment was for the establishment of a new order ; and how necessary the sagacious caution of Ignatius, who, before he divulged the darling idea of his life, prepared the way for its reception by giving proofs of the piety and judgment which fitted him to use such a privilege.

The time was now ripe : the hour and the man were come which Providence had ordained to interpose for the defence of the Church in its great necessity ; the army and its leader were ready to combat the powers of darkness, ever more

¹ Bellarmine himself confesses ‘ there was hardly any religion remaining,’ and yet the instinctive reverence of mankind for the clerical profession, surviving esteem, and independent of interest, still showed itself in the protection of church property in time of revolt or war ; and the spiritual judges were in these dark ages so far superior to those employed in the secular jurisdiction, that the people endeavoured in all ways to bring their affairs before them, and thus aided, what has been sometimes termed ecclesiastical encroachment, with all their power.

active within the sacred fold than beyond its barriers; and Loyola summoned his few adherents to discuss, after prayer and solemn meditation, the project which had long been spoken of amongst them, but never till now with a near hope of its accomplishment; some opinions among themselves, it appears, were against it, probably from a dread of the unfavourable aspect of the times. It was resolved that they should deliberate at night, so that they might postpone no work of charity by day. They prepared themselves by prayer and fasting to consider the questions placed before them, in the presence of God; and each was enjoined to meditate alone, and form his independent judgment, before they met to compare their decisions and motives.

Ignatius first desired them to examine if it were good that they should remain disconnected and independent should the Pope send them, as he had already proposed to do, on missionary work in distant countries. All rejected this idea. He then enquired if they were willing to add the vow of obedience to their vows of celibacy and poverty, and they were all ready to do this. But, since this was the point of primary importance, on which all the rest must depend, some of them proposed that all should retire for solitary prayer during thirty or forty days; others, that three or four should do this on behalf of the rest; but both of these suggestions were rejected; it was resolved that the companions were to proceed, according to the language of the 'Exercises,' by 'the way of election.'

At their next conference, it was their duty to produce all the arguments they could find against the vow of obedience, and the inconveniences that might result. These three were the most plausible. 1st. The popular opinion was hostile to the existing orders, and this hostility would extend itself to any new one. 2nd. The obligation of obedience to one Superior might repulse some among the many persons who now desired to join them. 3rd. The Pope, without whose approbation they could not unite themselves in a community, might refuse it, and order them to join one of the existing orders.

When they met again, the opposite reasons were brought forward, and they discussed the advantages of perpetual

obedience. They represented, first, that among the old orders none exactly answered the demands of the time, whereas the companions of Loyola had expressly devoted themselves to combat the errors which perverted many even among the faithful ; and the Pope could not but incline to them on this account. Secondly, the missions they undertook would be more successful if they were recognised as regular clergy. Thirdly, if some were repulsed by the vow of obedience, others would be greatly attracted by the prospect of depending wholly on the Pope. And, finally, they were persuaded that the company already collected and acting together would lose its most earnest members if the vow of obedience were not allowed. This suggestion was decisive. 1539.

Many nights passed in discussing what might be said on both sides. When the subject was exhausted, they came unanimously to this conclusion, that they ought to unite themselves under obedience to a Superior, whom they would immediately proceed to choose. They bound themselves to this obedience by a form drawn up by Faber, examined and approved by all ; each in turn read it aloud after mass, and before receiving the holy communion, and then signed his name ; the form was this :—

I, the undersigned ———, declare before God Almighty, the Holy Virgin Mary, and all the Court of Heaven, that after having prayed to God and well deliberated on the matter, I have freely made this decision, that the vow of obedience ought to be taken by this company, which I believe desirable for the glory of God and for its own continuance, and that I have freely determined (but without any oath or obligation) that I will enter the company, if by the permission of God it should be confirmed by the Pope. And in testimony of this resolve, which I declare I have taken by the grace of God, I now, though quite unworthy, am about to receive the holy communion. Tuesday, April 15, 1539.

The signatures are R. Cacres,¹ John Codure, Laynez, Sal-

¹ The name of Cacres, which comes first, is somewhat surprising, because hardly anything is known of it before or after. But that it is a genuine signature is ascertained by a letter written by this Cacres from Paris to Ignatius in 1541. Genelli thinks it may be Carceres, or Cazerres, mentioned in two letters of Ignatius of 1536, quoted by Menchaca.—*See Venice.*

meron, Bobadilla, Paschasius Brouet, Francis Xavier, Peter Faber, Ignatius, Simon Rodriguez, Claude de Jay.

1539.

On the 4th of May, it was unanimously decreed, that in future, whoever entered the Society should make, through the Superior, a vow to the Pope, that he was ready to go into any country in the world, Christian or infidel, at any moment; and this decision was immediately entered among their rules. It was determined, also, that each member should publicly instruct children in the Christian doctrine, during forty days in the year, for about an hour at a time. They even wished to oblige themselves to this by oath; but Bobadilla, with better judgment, as time has proved, objected to the oath; and it was not imposed. However, it was ruled that in future any single opposition should be taken no account of, lest their proceedings should be too often impeded. Those who desired to enter the Society should make a novitiate; they were to go through the 'Spiritual Exercises,' and practise the other pious usages of the community. On the eve of *Corpus Christi*, they resolved that they would choose a Superior, the election to be for life, but with restrictions that should afterwards be determined. If they were dispersed into many countries, all affairs of the Society should be decided by the majority of members then in Italy, either summoned to Rome, or giving their votes in writing, and the decision should be binding upon all.

It was then left to Ignatius to draw up the form that should be presented to the Pope. He did this by stating the rules they had decided on in five chapters. Cardinal Contarini presented the manuscript to Paul III., and enforced the petition of Ignatius by his own personal recommendations.

Paul received it graciously, and remitted it for consideration to Tommaso Badia, a Dominican, master of the palace, afterwards Cardinal San Silvestro. Badia kept it two months, and then returned it to Contarini, with an opinion in its favour. On the 3rd of September, the Cardinal wrote to Ignatius:—

I received yesterday, by your Spaniard, Marc Antonio, the manuscript of your 'Constitutions,' with a letter from the master of the Sacred Palace. To-day I went to the Pope, and after setting your request before him, I read the fifth chapter to his Holiness,

with which he seemed well pleased, and which he deigned to approve and confirm. We shall return to Rome with his Holiness on Friday, when Ghinuccio will receive his orders to prepare the brief or Bull. I recommend myself to your prayers.

Your devoted,

CARDINAL CONTARINI.

This was written from Tivoli. When the Pope had heard and seen the papers presented by Loyola, he exclaimed, ‘The finger of God is here.’ But he would not proceed as rapidly as Contarini anticipated. He desired three of his cardinals to examine the Constitutions; these were men of eminent learning and worth; but one of them was Bartolomeo Giudiccioni, of Lucca, whose opinion was entirely hostile to religious orders; and he would not even take patience to read the papers sent him; ‘For,’ said he, ‘all orders become relaxed, and then do more harm to the Church than they did good in the beginning.’ Giudiccioni was a redoubtable opponent, for he was an excellent theologian, a distinguished poet, possessing great abilities, and so highly venerated for his holy life, that when he died Paul III. exclaimed, ‘My successor is dead.’ His horror at the disorders into which many of the monks and nuns had fallen, made him desire, not reform, but suppression; he wished all orders abolished but four, which he would remodel and place under strict governance. To allow a new order was, to his mind, an idea not deserving even to be discussed. He would not waste a thought on the scheme of Ignatius; and the weight of his judgment carried with it that of the two cardinals conjoined with him. Ignatius, not discouraged, had recourse to prayer—reminded the Saviour of His promise; then, in the name of himself and all his company, he vowed to the Lord that the sacrifice of the mass should be offered three thousand times in thanksgiving when the confirmation they prayed for was granted. It seemed as if the time which the Lord had set was now come, for no one could ever tell how it happened, unless by Divine influence, that one day Giudiccioni desired that the chapters of the Institute should be read to him; he then examined them himself, and his opinion was at once reversed. He approved the whole completely; he announced to his colleagues that though he thought as before on the

The order
establish-
ed.

danger attached to religious communities, yet the institution proposed by Loyola was so different from the others, so excellently planned, and so adapted to the necessities of the times, that he could willingly join them in recommending its confirmation to the Pope. They acquiesced, and the report thus presented, obtained from Paul III. the Bull which begins '*Regimini militantis ecclesiæ*.' It limited the number of the professed to sixty; but, three years after, this restriction was removed.

Dated
Dec. 27,
1540.

March,
1543.

Dec. 18,
1540.

Cardinal Contarini had doubtless a large share in this result. Ignatius, writing to his cousin Pietro Contarini, tells him that his Holiness has formally given his approbation of the company, and thanks Pietro for the trouble he has taken in procuring the favour of the Cardinal, who has been one of their most efficient patrons with the Pope.

Ribade-
neira,
1540.

One evening after dark the door bell of the Torre di Melangolo rang; Ignatius, in his humility filling the office of porter, opened it, and a boy entered, dressed in the rich apparel worn by the pages of great lords; he seemed about fourteen years of age. He asked to be admitted, and then told his story. His name was Pedro di Ribadeneira; he had been ordered by his master, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to accompany him that morning into the country; but Pedro thought a day's liberty in Rome would be more agreeable, and he did not go; now he was afraid to return to the palace. Ortiz had desired him when he first came to Rome to visit Ignatius, and therefore he came now to ask his intercession.

He was the son of a noble lady of Toledo,¹ who had consecrated him to the Holy Virgin before his birth. He was well educated; but his mother was a widow, and unable to control the effervescent and fiery temper which showed itself early in the child. At seven years old he ran to stop a runaway mule, which severely injured him; sometime after a playfellow broke his leg.² The imprisonment that followed

¹ Caterina de Villalobos; her husband was Alvaro Ortiz de Cisneros; his grandfather was Governor of Toledo.

² The playfellow was Denys Vasquez, who afterwards, like Pedro, became a Jesuit.

these accidents produced the happiest effects. When, in the year 1540, Cardinal Farnese with his attendant prelates arrived at Toledo bearing the Pope's condolences to Charles on the death of the Empress Isabella, Ribadeneira, who was allowed to run into the Nunciatura, just opposite his mother's house, at all times, attracted by these splendid visitors, waited diligently on the Cardinal at his repasts, in accordance with the custom of those times, and seems to have pleased all the party; for even the rigid Giudiccioni, who accompanied the embassy, became interested in the intelligent and comely boy, and suggested to Cardinal Farnese that he should carry him to Rome. Doña Caterina was well pleased, because she wished her son to be among priests. Pedro heard the proposal with delight, but it was the prospect of novelty and adventure that charmed him. At Rome he was instructed along with the other noble youths of the Farnese household in letters, in horsemanship and gymnastics, fencing and dancing; these were congenial and easy to him, but in morals he seems to have made small progress. Once at an entertainment given by the Pope, when the Cardinals were sitting in the vast halls of the Vatican, their pages standing behind with lighted torches in their hands, Pedro suddenly rushed upon another page who was waiting on his master near him, and dashed the blazing torch at his head. The whole place was in an uproar. He said the other page was making faces at him. At the following Candlemas, all the Court and their attendants received blessed candles from the Pope's own hand; each taking it reverently kissed the cross on the Pope's slipper. But Ribadeneira, either ignorant or saucy, kissed the Pope's hands. Paul asked who the youth was, but did not express displeasure. Altogether Pedro was tired of his town life, and ready for any mischief. Then came the order to accompany the Cardinal into the country, and when Pedro had had his day's liberty, and knew that he would be missed at home, an unwonted timidity appears to have seized him, probably a consciousness that after being long a favourite he had become insupportable, and could not go on further with impunity.

Ignatius received him with the utmost kindness; the other priests were equally paternal. They kept him that night,

and next day Ignatius went to Cardinal Farnese, whom he knew well: Farnese only laughed, promised forgiveness, and desired that Pedro should return. But these few hours had produced a wonderful change in the boy's mind. He now wished to remain with the Fathers. He went back to the palace and to some other places only to find friends whom he might consult, as Ignatius bade him, on this choice of life; it appeared too rapid and extreme to all ordinary judgments; he was hardly fifteen, and the contrast with his former life seemed too great for a boy so young. But Ignatius saw extraordinary promise in Ribadeneira, and thought with a precocious and turbulent nature like his, it was best to begin soon. He kept him in the house; and at last, in September, 1540, he received him formally to the novitiate. Doña Caterina heard the news with pious joy. He was made to retain at first his ordinary dress; it was impossible yet to be quite sure of him; he had not gone through the 'Exercises,' nor even received his first communion. And at one time he regretted the splendours and pleasures of the Court; his old impatience and wilfulness seemed to revive. Ignatius reproved without the least effect. Pedro was only irritated; then Ignatius had recourse, as usual with him, to prayer, and earnestly asked that this soul might be given him. He sent for Pedro, who, almost as soon as Ignatius began to speak, burst into tears, and said, 'Yo los haré, padre, yo los haré' (I will do them); meaning the 'Exercises.' He passed through these, made his confession to Codure, and received the holy eucharist at Christmas of that year, the first after the company of Ignatius had been recognised as an order.

The two years of his novitiate did not pass without many outbreaks. He disliked early rising, and took to lying down with his clothes on, to save the time appointed for dressing; this was against the rules of order and cleanliness, and censured accordingly. When he was bidden to sweep the house, he filled it with dust; when he went about he banged the doors, clattered down the staircase, ran or jumped through the corridors. The grave Fathers began to think Ignatius had introduced a monkey into the house, and one day the master of the novices, following him into the room when Ignatius sent for him, complained that he was unmanage-

able, disturbed the peace of the house, and they could do nothing with him. Ignatius appeased the master, answered the other priests, who urged a dismissal, by assuring them Pedro had made much progress already, and would hereafter be a worthier subject than those who had less effervescence to subdue. The boy really tried, and in part succeeded; he tied his ancles together, that he might remember not to run down stairs; he made less noise, and took pains when he was ordered to dress the dinner. Once, an egg pasty was to be added to the usual fare, because Ignatius had a guest. Pedro, expecting a compliment, placed it on the table himself; but when the crust was broken, it was all burnt up. Ignatius discerned the boy's satisfaction, and said, 'How dare you show yourself, after making such a dish as this? Leave the room.' He once asked him 'if he knew what it was to be a secretary?' 'It is to be faithful in keeping secrets,' said Pedro. 'Since that is your idea,' said Ignatius, 'you shall be mine;' and he gave him often letters and other things to transcribe. He wrote badly, and sometimes made mistakes in spelling. Ignatius, fastidious in the matter of neat writing, had much patience and corrected his copies repeatedly. One day, to give him a stronger lesson, he threw the papers on the floor, and said, 'This foolish boy will never do any good!' Pedro wept, and beat his cheeks for vexation. Then he infringed the rules of the refectory, and took his breakfast into his own room to save time; then he made grimaces to another novice, when the ministro (doubtless Codace) crossed the hall. He incurred long penances by these transgressions; but his courage, and his desire to join the order, carried him through the two years successfully, though not without many mischances.

Before the recognition of the order, an unexpected mark of confidence in Ignatius had come through a former enemy, King Joam III. of Portugal, desiring to evangelise his newly-acquired possessions in the Indies, asked the advice of Diego Govea, formerly the master of Ignatius at St. Barbara, and then his fierce opponent, who said he knew no men so zealous and so capable as the companions of Ignatius. Then, by the

The King
of Portu-
gal asking
mission-
aries.

king's desire, he wrote to his former pupil at Rome. Ignatius answered, that he and his associates were ready to go whithersoever the Pope should send them. Govea transmitted this answer to Lisbon; King Joam, henceforward the warm and active friend of the company, ordered his ambassador, Pedro Mascarenha, to press the affair with Ignatius and the Pope. Mascarenha, exaggerating his instructions, asked for six of the Saint's companions. Ignatius offered two; he said, 'We are but ten altogether, and two are already wanted as missionaries by the Pope; what then would remain for the rest of the world?'

Mascarenha appealed to the Pope; but his Holiness refused to interfere. Bobadilla and Rodriguez were then named for the Indian mission. Rodriguez had but just arrived from Sienna; he left Rome on the 5th of March, and embarked at Civita Vecchia for Portugal. Bobadilla came from Naples, but suffered so much from rheumatism, that he was not able to proceed; the impediment seemed providential, for Xavier was appointed in his place. He heard his destiny on the 15th of March; next day he started for Portugal with Mascarenha. Ignatius sent by him a letter to his nephew at Loyola, which Menchaca gives in Latin to this effect:—

Obliged as I am to despatch immediately some of my companions to the Indies, to Ireland and to Italy, I cannot write to you at length as I should wish to do. The bearer of this letter is Master Francis Xavier of Navarre, son of the lord of Xavier, and one of our company. He goes by order of the Pope, and in accordance with the request of the King of Portugal, besides two others, who are going by water. [It seems as if Ignatius still intended to send Bobadilla.] Master Francis will tell you all that can interest you, and I have charged him to speak to you on certain subjects as if I were with you myself. I must inform you that the ambassador of the King of Portugal, with whom Master Francis travels, is much attached to us, and we owe him a great deal. He hopes to serve us, if he can, with his King, and all other persons, in all things which concern the service of God our Lord. I beg you, therefore, to receive him with all honour, and as sumptuously as you can.

Rome, March 16, 1540.

Xavier's
departure.

When Xavier appeared before Ignatius in his travelling equipment, as all did who left the Torre di Melangolo, that Ignatius might see they were sufficiently provided with the

small stock of comforts which was accounted necessary, he wore only the garments needed in the soft spring of Rome. Ignatius, knowing that he would have to cross the Alps in the stormy month of April, took off the flannel vest he wore, and made Xavier put it on. He dismissed him with the words he commonly used to those who left him for a distant mission—‘*Ite, omnia incendite, et inflammate ;*’ words never uttered to a more fervent heart than Xavier’s. He accompanied the ambassador to Bologna, where he stayed a few days. He found he was well remembered ; for, when his arrival became known, crowds assembled in the church of *S^{ta}. Lucia* before daybreak to hear him say mass. He was constantly occupied in speaking or hearing confessions. He wrote to his father, Ignatius, in a letter dated 31st March, ‘I have much more to do in Bologna than at St. Luigi’ (in Rome).

On the day of his departure a multitude pressed round him to receive his blessing. He recommended himself to their prayers, that they might meet him in heaven ; for, to all appearance, they would never see him again on earth. Then they burst into tears and lamentations, and some wanted to accompany him wherever he went.

It was in memory of Xavier that the Society of Jesus was afterwards invited to Bologna, and the chapel of Santa Lucia, where the Saint usually offered the holy sacrifice, was given them. The chamber which he occupied was converted into a chapel ; and the Bolognese piously believed that many favours were granted to them through his intercession.

It seems to be a part of the exaggeration with which the history of Xavier has been overlaid, that he is said to have departed from Rome with no property but his breviary and chaplet, no clothes but what he had on ; and that Ignatius took off his own waistcoat to give him, because both were too poor to buy another. It appears more likely that this was only a touching instance of the tender affection that subsisted between the two, which made Ignatius feel this was the way of making the gift that would most cheer Xavier’s heart. The description often quoted of his squalid attire and repulsive self-neglect, is clearly in contradiction with the strict rules of the Society, which made cleanliness

a duty, and with the charity and prudence which Ignatius cultivated to the highest degree, and were now to be exercised by Xavier on embassies and in courts. That scrupulous attention to 'please everyone his neighbour to edification,' which made Ignatius enjoin on his brethren the utmost consideration for the pride of a vanquished disputant, and a conformity to the customs of every country in their attire; and even suggested those rules of admission which nearly closed the order to anyone who had a deformed or unsightly appearance, would certainly have forbidden Xavier to make himself unacceptable at the table of Mascarenha and De Souza, or in the court of King Joam; and we hear afterwards of his consenting to enter Fucheo wearing velvet and gold. His unwise biographer represents him as feeding during the long Indian voyage on 'the refuse of the food given to the sailors;' whereas, in fact, the viceroy made him a constant guest; and Xavier mentions this in his letters with gratitude and regret. He would indeed have done but half the work appointed for him, if he had not retained under that of the missionary and monk much of the character of the polished nobleman, carrying the royal blood of Navarre in his veins.¹

Joam III., charmed with the two priests whom Ignatius had sent, was unwilling to part with them. He kept them near him, and during the summer and autumn much negotiation passed between himself, the Pope (who left both parties at liberty to do what they pleased), and Ignatius. At last it was proposed by Ignatius that Xavier should be sent to India, and Rodriguez remain in Portugal, where he might plant a seminary of the Society, and so provide for the wants of both countries. King Joam acceded; and on the 7th of April, Xavier sailed from Portugal to enter on his mission to the Indies, leaving Rodriguez to found those seminaries, whence for two hundred years an ample stream

Xavier
sails for
the Indies,
leaving
Rodriguez
in Portu-
gal. 1541.

¹ Versorius says, 'La règle qu'ils ont quant à l'habit, c'est de s'habiller comme s'habillent les gens d'église, plus *honnêtement*, *resentant le ministère et la dignité de leurs charges.*' St. John of Kanty, St. Jerome, St. Bernard, St. Theresa, were strict, like St. Ignatius, on the point of cleanliness.

of learning and sound faith flowed from Portugal over a large part of the world. There were subsequently times when the proceedings of Rodriguez displeased his kind father, but none when Ignatius ceased to entertain for him the most indulgent affection.

While the negociation went on with the King of Portugal, 1540. other demands besides that indicated by the allusion Ignatius makes to Ireland, bore testimony to the value set by many bishops on the labours of the community. The Cardinal of St. Angelo¹ carried Laynez and Faber with him to Joly. Parma. There they evangelized the town; Lucrezia de Parma. Gonzagua, Countess of Mirandola, and Giulia Zerbini, became under their direction missionaries amongst the rich and poor of their own sex.

At Balnereggia, in Tuscany, a most pernicious discord had Balnereg-
 arisen between the clergy and the people; Claude le Jay was gia.
 sent there, with the consent—not entirely cordial—of both parties, to find a way of restoring peace. Possessing the spirit of his institution, prudent as well as zealous, he proceeded cautiously, convened the leaders of both sides, and explained his errand to them in such a manner as conciliated all. Then he began to preach; his sermons were crowded; his confessional never empty, day or night, while he could be found there. And, finally, the grievances he came to redress wholly disappeared; hostilities were banished by common consent; those he found enemies, now became friends, embraced each other with all the Italian effusiveness, and desired to receive the holy communion together, in token that their peace was founded on Christian charity, to be impaired no more. All this was a work of time, and he was aided the next year by Paschase Brouet, then returned from his mission to Ireland. From Balnereggia Le Jay went to Brescia, and afterwards to Faenza, where Brouet joined him, sometime in 1541.

¹ Enrico Philonardi.

Naples.

The kingdom of Naples was disturbed by the dissensions of the isle of Ischia. Ignatius was entreated to send Bobadilla, whose pacific embassy was so successful, that they refused afterwards to part with him, even when summoned by Ignatius. The city and kingdom were in an incredible state of demoralization. So it had long been; and yet the instincts of the people still clung to the Church, and craved for new religious orders, as the old ones became contemptible from the evil ways into which they had fallen.

The clergy openly kept women in their own residences; all ranks alike, from the bishops down to the '*minimi cherici*;' these ex-wives had the incredible audacity to claim the priestly privilege of exemption from the secular tribunals; 'and wonderful to hear,' says Giannone, '. . . some such exemptions were granted, though less than the priests asked.'

Bobadilla
at Naples.

Bobadilla found that these scandals still existed unchecked, for the Viceroy, Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, 'come in si fatte cose indulgente,' was unwilling to take desperate measures. His successor, Pedro di Toledo, was a governor of a different stamp, and introduced laws that enforced a great advance in outward decorum at least. It was no longer possible to evade or defy these laws, for Toledo, a wise and temperate man, but true to the blood of Alva, proceeded with excessive rigour, and succeeded at last in extirpating the 'schools of false swearing,' which long made a mockery of the courts of law. He made it death to carry a ladder at night, because decent women were often attacked by men entering through the windows; and he actually beheaded an unhappy gentleman who was caught descending in this way, though the Princesses of Salerno and Sulmona, and almost all the nobility of Naples, interceded for his life.

But it was long before the energy of Toledo could reduce this excitable and luxurious people to good order, and moreover relapses were always frequent. Bobadilla found the difficulty of reforming the public morals balanced by the equal difficulty of keeping the more intelligent and cultivated minds free from the German heresies which had penetrated everywhere. Against these nothing had been so effectual as the preaching of Frate Bernardino; this was

Ochino, whose pathetic and rapid eloquence inspired faith and compunction into his overflowing congregation for three or four years, and moved the Emperor himself, not given to sensibility; but Ochino was now absent, and reports had reached Naples that even he was sliding into Luther's views. The Jews of Naples, fulfilling their miraculous destiny, were become enormously rich and numerous, spreading over whole districts, occupying suburbs and large villages of their own; and many Moors and Spanish Jews, flying from the rigours of the Inquisition in Spain, had sought shelter there. Then attempts were made, long defeated and renewed, to introduce that terrible tribunal into the kingdom of Naples. Charles V., when he was at Naples in 1536, Feb. 4. published a hateful edict which threatened death and confiscation of goods to any person who held communication with a heretic, or even one only suspected of heresy. Yet five or six years after this, the works of Melancthon and Erasmus were largely circulated; till the Viceroy ordered that they should be collected and burned, which was done before the gate of the Archbishop's palace. A publication of Valdez, or suggested at least by him, called 'Il Beneficio di Christo,' had immense favour among the educated classes. It treated of the difficult subject of Justification, and was condemned to such strict extermination, that till very lately no copy was known to exist.

The Neapolitans hastened to follow the example of Sienna, now taking the lead among the towns in all matters of '*le belle lettere*,' and introduced dramatic representations; a novelty soon domiciled in that kingdom; doubtless our old friend 'Punch' entered on his world-wide career about this time. Several academic societies of literary persons, such as the Italian taste delights in, had lately been formed;¹ Toledo suppressed all, lest heresy should insinuate itself into their discussions. As far as possible all erudition and literature were discouraged. It followed almost as a matter of course that the higher and more cultivated minds took to controverted points and forbidden books as a part of that enjoyment of which an unreasonable and arbitrary tyranny sought to deprive them.

The Colonna family, eminent in wealth and influence,

¹ As the Sireni, the Ardentì, the Incogniti.

were earnestly in favour of unrestricted enquiries, and welcomed talent under all its forms. Vittoria Colonna, whose widowhood passed in devotion, study, and elegant composition, the friend of Sadolet, Contarini, and Pole; Giulia Gonzagua, and her husband, Duke of Palliano; Galeazzo Caracciolo, nephew of Paul IV., then only commencing his remarkable adventures, and many more of the noblest in the kingdom, all encouraged Valdez and his adherents, but still with the utmost profession of deference for the Chair of St. Peter. They thought with Clavio, ‘that no corruption in the Church can justify us in receding from its communion. . . . Our only thought should be, how the old institutions can be improved and purified from all defect.’

But some had not the wisdom to stop here, and broke loose from the obligations of morality as well as the precepts of religious faith.

1546.

Paul III. at last consented to establish a Tribunal of Inquisition in Naples, at the earnest petition of Toledo, who thought to introduce it quietly in the Pope’s name, without arousing the national jealousy of Spanish jurisdiction. But the Neapolitans resisted so vigorously, that Toledo could not carry his point even partially, till towards the latter part of Ignatius’ life, when a court was formed with something of the power and the objects of the Spanish Inquisition, intended to prepare the people for its complete establishment. The *Teatini*, encouraged doubtless by the reigning Pope, then himself a Theatine, denounced many persons to this court, sometimes only suspected, and on very slight grounds; so that if the Jesuits, then newly established in Naples, says Giannone, had not often interfered to oppose them, they would have done horrible things. Many of the defeated and scattered Waldenses and Albigenses had taken refuge in Calabria; they endeavoured to remain concealed, but this was not long allowed, and before the reign of Philip ended, they were hunted out and exterminated.

The first
College of
the Jesuits
in Naples.
1551.

The company of Jesus did not possess a college in Naples till 1551, when Salmeron was sent to follow up the work began by Bobadilla. No order except the Theatines was so much beloved and respected, and they became highly

prosperous. They were first lodged in small premises by the Duke of Monteleone, where as usual they began to teach religion gratuitously to all sorts, 'setting an example to the secular priests.' Then the Neapolitans, 'moved by their charitable and pious labours,' bought for them the Casa Maddaloni, and built a church called the Gesù, which soon became too small for the crowds that flocked to it. Then was begun their splendid college, on which the Prince della Rocca alone spent 20,000 ducats, and the other 'eccelsi e stupendi loro edifici' all over the kingdom.¹

It is remarked, as a singular departure from the cautious delays usual with the Court of Rome, that the Pope authorised the order on the simple statement of its Constitutions. The Bull in which he did this is dated 5th of the Calends of October, 1540, sixth year of his Pontificate.

Dominic Soto, the head of the Dominican friars, and one of the most learned men of the day, heard with indignation of the exemption from choir duties which was granted to the company of Ignatius. Any community, he said, which failed in the exact and frequent celebration of Divine service in the sanctuary, fell so far short of the spirit of its rule. 'I mean,' said he, 'to speak of the old establishments; for as for any new order that pretended to be freed from this obligation, it could not have any right to call itself a religious order at all.'

But this was a mistaken judgment. St. Dominic himself allowed his community to make its commencement without a choir; the military orders, and those devoted to works of charity, had none; in the strictest convents those are exempted who are teachers, preachers, or missionaries. Pope

¹ These gave occasion to the sarcastic remark of Giannone, that while the professed houses, in which the rule of poverty was observed, were but twenty-one, the number of colleges was two hundred and ninety-three. But, since in the colleges a few Jesuits resided with some hundred scholars, whom it was not intended to withdraw from the reasonable enjoyments of life, even this difference, supposing it accurately stated, might not be excessive. Individually, each Jesuit, wherever placed, was obliged to conform to the rule which forbade his possessing any property, even to dispose of money given him for alms.

St. Gregory forbade that the deacons who had to preach should chant in the choir. Many convents were established solely or chiefly for those who seek there a refuge and a shelter, where they may save their own souls; the Society of Ignatius was to labour constantly in the world, direct all their actions to the spiritual welfare of others, and lose all personal interest, so to speak, in that one vast and absorbing motive, 'For the greater glory of God.'

1540.

The Pope's charter had not affixed any name to the new company; Ignatius would use none but that which he had declared to his associates at Vicenza, and the title of 'Society of Jesus' had been inserted in the forms approved by Paul III. He said in after years, to his secretary Polanco, that he must have resisted the will of God, if he had hesitated to give this name to his Institute. He seems to have understood that this was part of the promise miraculously given at La Storta; and when Michel Torrez, in 1554, wrote to him from Spain, that the title excited jealousies, Ignatius answered, 'that it had a deeper root than the world knew of, and could not be altered.' This was at a time when the passionate attacks and false statements of the Sorbonne made a considerable impression on even unprejudiced minds. Two of his company conversing with the Cardinal de la Cueva, at Rome, were unable to persuade him that the name was rightly chosen; because, he said, it would appear presumptuous and excite the envy of other orders. They repeated this to Ignatius. 'If they will not call us the company of Jesus,' said he, 'let them say the congregation, or the order of Jesus; but I do not think the name of Jesus can ever be taken from us.'¹

The letters I. H. S. upon the seal used by its members are merely the sacred name, indicated as written in the early

¹ Pope Sextus V., when Aquaviva was general, revived this dispute, and ordered Aquaviva to forbid his provincials ever in future to use the obnoxious designation. Aquaviva complied, and brought the decree to the Pope, who seems to have been appeased by this ready obedience, and let the affair drop. His successor, Gregory XIV., finally decided the question; in a Bull published June 28, 1504, he gave his formal approbation of the Institute and name of the Society of Jesus.

ages Ihesus. The first seal used by Loyola had his own initial also:—

I. H. S.
Y.

The second in place of Y. had a crescent between two stars:—¹

* D *

It was now necessary to proceed to the choice of a Superior. Hitherto they had none, for Ignatius abstained from all supremacy or dictation; on every point (except the name) the opinion of all the members was asked; when government was necessary, they exercised it in turn. Now that they were recognised as an order, they required a head; and in the Easter of 1541, Ignatius summoned all to Rome who 1541. could come, the others were to send their vote in writing. Only five could be collected; Brouet came from Sienna, Laynez from Parma, Le Jay from Brescia, Bobadilla was at Bisignano, in the kingdom of Naples; there the inhabitants petitioned the Pope that they might retain him, and the Pope forbade him to return. He had not time to send his written vote, but afterwards declared that he should have chosen like the rest.

In prospect of this election, Xavier and Rodriguez had left their votes sealed up at Rome. Faber sent his, copied twice over, for fear of accident, from Worms, where he was attending at the Diet. Those who could come, reached Rome as soon as possible, because there was much to do. They had desired their Father Ignatius to form a plan for them—this was now considered, closely examined and adopted. Then the election was deferred till April 7, that all might pass three days in prayer, abstaining from consulting with one another. On the 7th the sealed papers were opened. Ignatius was named by all. Laynez wrote:—

Ignatius
chosen
Superior.

I, Diego Laynez, moved only by desire for the glory of the Lord Jesus and the saving of souls, choose Master Ignatius of Loyola for

¹ The word Jesuit was first used, it is said, by Calvin, in the 'Institute of the Christian Religion.' It is found in the Register of the Parliament of Paris, in 1552. It was never used at that time by the companions themselves.

my Superior and that of the company of Jesus, in testimony whereof I have signed my name.—This 4th April, 1541.

Salmeron wrote:—

I, Alphonso Salmeron, most unworthy of this Society, having prayed to God, and according to my judgment maturely considered the matter, choose and declare for my leader and Superior, and that of the whole congregation, Don Ignatius of Loyola, who, according to the wisdom given him by God, as he begot us in Christ, and fed us with milk as babes, so now, being stronger in Christ, he will guide us onwards with the solid food of obedience, and lead us into the fat pastures of Paradise and to the Fountain of Life. So that when he shall restore this little flock to Jesus Christ, the Great Shepherd, we may be truly called a people of His pasture, and sheep of His hands; that he himself may joyfully say: 'Lord, of these whom Thou hast given me I have not lost one,' which may He, Jesus, the Good Shepherd, deign to grant us. Amen. This is our decision.—Written at Rome, 4th day April, 1541.

Xavier had left a paper, in which he declares that he adheres beforehand to all the Constitutions that shall be framed by the Society, even if there be but two or three members to represent it. He charges Laynez to make the three vows on his behalf. And he gives his vote thus:—

I, Francis, affirm and declare, in no way influenced by man, and speaking from my conscience, that, in my opinion, we should elect for Superior to our company, that all may obey him, our first and true Father, Don Ignatius. It is he who has collected us with great pains and much labour, and he will be able to govern us, and advance us in what is good; for he, better than any one, knows each of us. And after his death (I speak as I think in my soul, and as if I were to die immediately), I think that Father Peter Faber ought to be his successor. God is my witness, that I speak only according to my own mind; and as it is the truth, I subscribe it with my hand. Given in Rome, March 15, 1540.—FRANCIS.

The vote of John Codure is written at the greatest length of any. It is dated March 5, 1540, and speaks of that mission to Ireland which Ignatius alluded to in the letter to his nephew at Loyola. But as it was deferred at that time, Codure remained at Rome.

He writes, in giving his vote, that as he is about to depart for Ireland, by order of the Pope, and the distance being great, he thinks it best to name in writing him whom he thinks ought to be Superior of the company.

It is he whom I declare I have always known zealous for the honour of God, and most ardent for the good of souls, who ought to be placed above all, because he always made himself least of all, and ministered to all, our honourable Father Don Ignatius of Loyola; after whom, I think, should be named the honourable Father Don Peter Faber, distinguished for not less virtue. This is charity before God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ; nor otherwise could I say, if I knew this to be the last hour of my life. [The date is May 5, 1540.]

Ignatius himself in his vote would name no one. He declared that he accepted beforehand for Superior whoever should be chosen by the majority:—

Excluding myself, I give my vote in our Lord, that He may be our Superior who may be named by the majority of votes. I give it indefinitely, *boni consulendo*. If, however, the company should think differently, and consider it better and more advantageous for the glory of God our Lord that I should name some one, I am ready to do it.

When Ignatius found himself unanimously named Superior, he declared that he could not accept the office. He represented his faultiness and incapacity, that he had led for nearly thirty years a worldly and sinful life, that his weak health made it impossible for him to sustain so great a burden. He told them they had erred in thinking him fit to be their Superior, that their persistence in electing him would overwhelm him with grief.

Undoubtedly he was sincere in saying this, but the reasons he gave were not the sole motives that withheld him from assuming such responsibility. They may be seen in his conduct during the last few previous years, when, after having obtained his chosen adherents, and formed them by the ‘Exercises’ according to the plan he had marked out for his Society, he withdrew from all appearance of authority, in all the proceedings that became necessary as the work developed, and acted always in concert with the whole community, and as if their delegate, assuming no weight or precedence, avoiding to appear as the founder of their order, or to let it be called by his name. This was so marked, that the associates referred before the election to their having been hitherto without a leader.

It is easy to believe that when he had no longer any anxiety for his beloved institution, and saw it carried onwards by

Christ Himself, he would have gladly sought again the communion granted him at Manresa, and taken refuge from the world in the tranquillity of simple obedience. He would lose much in the interruption of his private devotions, when his time must be given to others, and he had nothing that he cared for to gain.

He made all the efforts in his power to procure another election. He obtained by earnest entreaty of his associates that they would resume their votes, and give them anew, and with fresh light and direction; he begged them to pray constantly meanwhile for the Divine guidance. They agreed; they met again after three days, and they unanimously voted as before.

Ignatius still remonstrated and refused. He would have entered on fresh arguments; Laynez arose and said, 'Father, yield to the will of God, for if you do not, the company may dissolve itself, as far as I am concerned, for I am resolved to recognise no other than the head whom God has chosen.'

Ignatius then said he would submit himself to the decision of a third party. He would lay his soul open before his confessor, and then abide by his opinion, whether he should agree to their choice or not. The confessor appealed to was a Minorite, Father Theodoric, of the convent of San Pietro, in Montorio. Ignatius, to be more undisturbed, went thither, and remained three days in confession and prayer. Then when he had shown all his faults and reluctances, he begged of Theodoric to write to his associates, and tell them freely the unfitness of the chief they had chosen. Ignatius returned home on Easter Tuesday, April 9. Father Theodoric brought his written opinion, which was opened and read in presence of all. He declared that Ignatius was obliged to submit to the desires of his companions, and accept the office they imposed on him.

While Ignatius was in the monastery of San Pietro, a young lay brother, named Matteo, was suddenly possessed by a devil, who caused him horrible sufferings, and resisted the prayers and exorcism of the Minorite fathers. Ignatius led the young man into his chamber, prayed over him, and brought him out entirely cured; and the story adds that the devil in revenge tried to stifle Ignatius that night, com-

pressing his jaws so that they were tender for many days after. But when, by a great effort, Ignatius uttered the name of Jesus, the evil spirit fled.

And now, hearing the judgment of Father Theodoric announced before all his company, Ignatius accepted it as an indication of the Divine will, and entered on the office of general on April 13, 1541.

Ignatius
accepting
the
general-
ship,
1541.

Those to whom the Catholic spirit is a mystery, those who do not know the sweetness of the gall and vinegar tasted for Christ's sake, and how much the humiliation of the cross is more precious than all earthly power and glory to the soul that seeks to unite itself to Him in the abasement of Calvary, have found it difficult to believe that Ignatius was sincere in his refusal of the generalship. But others can suppose it a far more inviting prospect to a mind like his, if he could have seen his cherished order governed by Faber or Laynez, and carried onwards in the way he had established, to retire himself into obscurity and guide his beloved company only by his prayers, persuaded as he was that now the Redeemer Himself was its true Head.

Xavier, Codure, and Rodriguez gave their second votes for Faber. It was believed that all would have named him if they had made any second choice at all; for Faber was greatly beloved, and Laynez and Bobadilla said that in the absence of Ignatius they thought him the most admirable person they had ever seen. But when Ignatius was present he appeared but as a child.

It remained for the members of the new community to take the vows of their profession; the time was to be the next day but one—Friday, April 15; the place St. Paul-beyond-the-walls, where they expected to be most undisturbed. They first made the stations of the seven churches, then went to St. Paul's.

The vows
taken at
San Paolo-
fuori-le-
Mura,
1541.

Ignatius said mass at an altar of the Holy Virgin, which was on the left of the high altar, *near the miraculous crucifix which spoke to St. Bridget.*¹ Before communicating, he turned

¹ It is of ebony, and still in the Church of San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, having been saved when the church was burnt in 1840.

towards his five companions kneeling round the altar, and holding in one hand the body of our Lord, in the other the form of his vows, he read it aloud, and received the Sacred Host. Then he returned to his brethren and received their vows, which were of the same form as his own, except that his were made to the Pope, and theirs to Ignatius, as their head. When they had communicated and returned thanks, they visited all the privileged altars of the church, then returning to the high altar, they all embraced Ignatius, kissing his hand with great reverence and with tears of joy. Before leaving the church they signed a paper (written by Jerome Domenech, who acted as secretary), doubtless intended to be presented to the Pope. It is superscribed—‘Done in the church of St. Paul-beyond-the-walls, in the year of our Lord 1541, the 22nd April.’ It relates that Ignatius of Loyola, and the rest, whose names are given, assembled in chapter in the church, representing the Society of Jesus, lately founded by Pope Paul III., after having invoked the Holy Spirit and offered the sacrifice, have proceeded to elect a Superior, and have unanimously chosen the venerable Master Ignatius of Loyola as their general, and made in his hands the perpetual vows of their Institute.¹

They then returned to their house in Rome, full of fervour and consolation, their hearts overflowing with thankfulness and the love of God. Codure, who had been the first after Ignatius to pronounce his vows, walked on along with Laynez before the others, seeming as if carried by the Holy Spirit; he wept, he exclaimed like one beside himself, his heart was already glowing with the joy that he was soon to enter on, for his death was at hand. Some time after, as the Irish mission was still delayed, he was made *Socius* to Ignatius, to aid him in the temporal affairs of the community; in six

Death of
Codure.

¹ The form subscribed by St. Ignatius, still existing, is thus expressed :—
‘I, the undersigned, promise to the all-powerful God, and to the Pope, His vicar upon earth, in presence of the Blessed Virgin, His Mother, and of the company, perpetual poverty, celibacy, and obedience, according to the rule of life contained in the Bull of the Society of Our Lord Jesus, and the Constitutions, already or hereafter to be published. I promise that I will cause young persons to be instructed in the faith, according to the same Bull, and to the Constitutions. Given at Rome, the Friday, 22nd April, in the Church of St. Paul-beyond-the-city.—IGNATIUS DE LOYOLA.’

months he was seized with a dangerous illness. Ignatius went to offer up the holy sacrifice for him at San Pietro Montorio, and passing the Ponte Sisto on his way thither, he suddenly stopped when half way over the bridge, gazed up into heaven, then said to his companion Viola, 'Let us return to Rome, Codure is dead.' And it was just then that Codure expired. Ignatius never explained what he had seen, but his disciples believed that he beheld the same vision as was granted to a pious man, who described it in a letter to Faber soon after—Codure surrounded by a blaze of light, accompanied by angels, ascending into heaven. All his companions held Codure to be a perfect character. It was thought the spirit of John the Baptist, whose name he bore, had been imparted to him; he was born on St. John's day (in Provence, where it is particularly honoured); he died on the day of his martyrdom, and at the same age.

In the next year Stefano Barello was supposed dying. Ignatius was offering the holy sacrament for him at San Pietro Montorio; returning, he said to his companion, Ribadeneira, 'Stefano will not die now.' Stefano indeed recovered, lived to old age, and ever thought the prayers of Ignatius had prolonged his life.

Ignatius entered on his functions as general by performing the works of humility enjoined on all members of the community. He helped several days in the kitchen, and shared the humblest labours of the house. Then during forty-six days successively he taught the catechism in the little chapel¹ belonging to the Society, called S^{ta} Maria della Strada, where more grown persons come to learn than children. His custom was to explain first some precept, or some mystery, adapting himself to the slenderest apprehension, and repeating the same thing several times; then he made the practical conclusion or applications that were useful for the conduct of life. His method of teaching was 'to use the Gospel as a sword drawn from the scabbard, to show its truths as they

Ignatius
preaching
at Rome.

¹ The chapel is now effaced by the Gesù, which stands on that spot; but the picture of the Madonna, before which Ignatius prayed so often, remains in the church.

are in the original language,' unornamented, and not mixed up with any ideas of his own. Ribadeneira, frequently present, says his instructions were more pious than learned, his language very simple, and frequently faulty, from his slight knowledge of Italian. But his words were weighty, and reached the minds of those who listened; they forced reflection, and inspired repentance. When he had done speaking you saw the people hasten to the confessionals, showing all the signs of profound conviction. Laynez looked on with wonder. 'But when I remember,' says Ribadeneira, 'what I then saw, this does not surprise me. For I recal perfectly the energy and earnestness with which Ignatius spoke; he appeared like one inflamed with the love of God, so that even when silent his countenance moved his auditors, and he could do with them what he liked.' Ribadeneira was employed to repeat to the people next day what Ignatius had taught the evening before, and, as he feared the defective expression might mar the usefulness of these excellent lessons, he ventured, for he was by no means bashful, to suggest that Ignatius should strive to improve his Italian. Ignatius answered, with his wonted humility, 'You are right; observe me when I speak, and remember my mistakes, that you may tell me of them afterwards.' Ribadeneira did as he was commissioned, but the faults were many, and the whole instruction seemed full of Spanish idioms. Ignatius only said with a smile, 'My Pietro, what can we do against God?' meaning doubtless that heaven had made him a Spaniard, and it was impossible for him quite to renounce his native tongue. And so he went on, edifying and charming his hearers in his bad Italian as before.

All the accounts that remain to us of the Jesuits of that early time represent them as admirable men, leading a life supernaturally charitable and pious, realising the prophetic picture of St. Vincent Ferrer, when he announced the future company of Jesus: 'men carrying humility and charity, the pure heart, and single spirit, to perfection; men who were to know nothing but in Jesus crucified; to love, speak, and think of Him only; to have no care for themselves; to de-

sire nothing but heaven, and death, that they might come to it sooner;' who were to cultivate for Christ's sake all their natural gifts to the highest point, yet desire no return but in greater success for the helping of souls; who, attaining the most brilliant eminence of eloquence and learning, would lay all at the foot of the cross, and show in their lives and manners such simplicity, sweetness, and innocence, that they would win even hearts hardened by controversy and the cruel fierceness of party zeal.

One instance of conversion by the mere seeing what these men were occurred soon after they were formed into an order. A young Lutheran preacher, of much talent, came to Rome, expressly to spread the doctrines of his sect. He began by haranguing in the streets against the sins of the Catholic clergy; and when he thought he had won a hearing by attacking the lives of the priesthood, he went on to refute their doctrines. He was arrested and imprisoned. Several clergymen visited him, and tried to convince him by arguments; but these remained without effect. His youth and talents would not probably have saved him from some heavy punishment, but that Ignatius offered to take him into his house, and try what could be done there. In that fortunate dwelling he saw men who realised the pictures his mind had formed of the early Christians, and who acted all that they taught; he was no longer instigated by opposition, for none disputed with him; he respected the faith which produced such effects, then loved, and then adopted it. When he was asked afterwards why he had remained unconvinced so long, he said he was not converted by argument, but by the holy and charitable life he had seen around him; he could not believe that its foundation lay in anything but truth.

The young
Lutheran.

Soon after they arrived at Rome, a brother of Laynez, Martin, appeared there. He had heard unfavourable rumours of Ignatius' orthodoxy, and, dreading lest his brother should be drawn into heresy, he came to judge for himself what Ignatius was. And his enquiries ended in his going through the 'Exercises,' and then entering the Society. He was exemplary and zealous; he devoted himself with such

Martin
Laynez.

charity to taking care of the sick, that he caught a fever from them, and made an early and most happy death.

Araoz.

A more remarkable recruit presented himself about the same time—Antonio Araoz, a nephew of the Loyolas. He had probably known and loved his uncle at Azpeytia; for he was ready at once to go through the ‘Exercises;’ and he entered on his novitiate immediately after.

It was necessary that he should return to Spain to arrange the renunciation of his property; and he was the first missionary sent by Ignatius to spread his order among his countrymen. He was the first, too, to make the vows of the professed after the original ten. He appears to have been excellently well adapted for his missionary office: enthusiastic, eloquent; his personal gifts, and his relation to the Loyola family, certain to facilitate his reception by the Spaniards, whose instincts were all in accordance with the character of Ignatius himself.

The grief of Padre Antonio on leaving him touched his heart; and he gave him the little picture of the Virgin holding her dead Son, which he procured at Montserrat, along with a crucifix,¹ when he first assumed the penitent’s garb. ‘Antonio,’ he said, ‘never give this to anyone; I have worn it ever since I changed my life and dress; and amidst many wants and dangers of soul and body, I have ever experienced the protection of the Holy Mother.’ Araoz went to the castle of Loyola, where he had business; there he found the young niece of Ignatius, Doña Marina, heiress of the castle and lands, who piously cherished his memory, and persuaded Araoz to leave the picture with her till he returned. But Araoz never did return; and, eight years after, Doña Marina transmitted the precious relic to a pious friend,² who was to place it with the Fathers at Saragossa. There it is now kept in the chapel of the college. Araoz had a great devotion to the Holy Virgin; and, when he lay down to sleep, he had always a chaplet in his hand.

When Araoz landed at Barcelona, he found the remembrance of Ignatius still fresh and enthusiastic. The people besieged the place where Araoz lodged, demanding to see

¹ The crucifix came into the possession of Juan Pascoal.

² Pasqual Mandura.

and hear him ; they listened to his sermons with admiration ; they desired that some of the company should be fixed among them ; and a college was immediately begun. At Burgos and Valladolid Araoz was equally successful. All through the Basque provinces such crowds assembled to hear him, that he was sometimes forced to preach in the open air.¹

The Viceroy of Catalonia, Francis Borgia, heard of Araoz, and desired to see him. Araoz explained to him the plans of Ignatius and the aims of his Society ; he showed him the Bull of Paul III. Borgia promised his protection. He was in the prime of life, wealthy, learned, allied to the noblest families in Spain ; he had a wife whom he loved ; he had sons and daughters : it seemed as if the world was prodigal of its gifts to him. Four years later his wife was dead ; he abandoned all the rest, and entered the order Ignatius had founded.

Francis
Borgia.

Emiliano, of Loyola, another nephew, joined Ignatius at Rome soon after Araoz.

Emiliano
of Loyola.

Until Ignatius had completed the Constitutions, which proceeded slowly, he thought it necessary to give written rules for the guidance of his children, and he caused his secretary to send to each of the professed a copy of the nine following :—

1st. The Fathers were constantly to occupy their hearts with God ; whether in their cells or in the world, they were never to leave His divine presence. The life of Jesus was to be their example. His divine model must be impressed upon their souls.

Rules
given by
Ignatius.

2nd. They were to see in their Superiors the image of God Himself, assured that obedience is a guide which cannot deceive ; to reveal all their thoughts as well as actions to those

¹ In spite of this popularity, it was reported to Ignatius that Araoz was too much given to frequent the higher orders in Spain, which truly was not astonishing, as his relationship to many noble families would make him naturally sought by them. Such a preference would have been so contrary to the spirit of the Society, that it was probably a mistaken representation. Araoz admonished, continued to work with the utmost humility and success.

appointed over them, knowing that we must ever mistrust our own judgment.

3rd. When they converse with their sinful fellow-creatures, they should use such precautions as would be reasonable in regard to a drowning man, so that two may not perish together. But the sinner should be dear to every one of the Society; not only as the child of their common Father, but he should love him as himself. In argument, the greatest vigilance must be used to avert the desire of triumph. There is but one rational end to be proposed in discussion, the establishing of truth; the spirit as well as words must be guided by this only.

4th. They are to keep silence when necessity does not compel them to speak; then neither worldly, nor vain-glorious, nor idle talk must any way mix in the conversation.

5th. If it please God to operate great things through their means, they must count themselves as nothing but a worthless instrument, such as was the jawbone of an ass in the hand of Samson. To be satisfied with our own judgment, or wisdom, or prudence would be a folly. A religious must consider himself best rewarded for what he does for his neighbour when he receives reproach and contumely, such as the world gave to the labours of his Divine Lord.

6th. If any Father should fall into an obvious error, likely to diminish the esteem in which they were held, they ought not to be discouraged; but thank God for having shown their weakness, so that they may walk humbly and carefully in future, and that their brethren may take warning; remember that all are formed from the same clay, and pray earnestly for the sinner.

7th. During the recreation they must observe the moderation which the Apostle requires at all times, neither mirthful to excess nor too grave.

8th. They must never neglect an opportunity of doing good for the sake of some greater future good; for this is an artifice of the devil to turn our minds from the common works they might have performed.

9th. Let each remain firm in his vocation, as if its roots were laid deep in the foundations of the Lord's house. For as the enemy often inspires the solitary with the desire of

living in a community, he frequently makes those who are called to convert souls desire solitude, leading them to a path contrary to that which it is their duty to follow.

In framing the Constitutions which were to regulate his Society through all time, Loyola proceeded with the utmost circumspection and humility, preparing himself before he wrote by prayer and meditation; then, imitating the holy Pope Leo, he placed what he had written upon the altar, and offered his plans to God in the sacrament of the mass. He deliberated on every point with extreme patience and caution. A fragment of the journal he kept, which escaped the flames when he burned all his other papers, a short time before he died, refers to the question he long weighed—whether the churches and sacristies of the houses of the professed should be able to acquire property. He considered this point forty days; he wrote down eight reasons on one side, and fifteen on the other, laying the whole as usual before God. Orlandini translates a part of his journal of two days from the Spanish into Latin; he says it is difficult to preserve the spirit of the original. The following is an extract; he often speaks of himself in the third person:—

Sunday, the fifth Mass of the Trinity. At the usual prayer, though there was not much at first, after the second half, his soul felt great devotion, and was exceedingly consoled; it saw also a certain object, and a form of very bright light. While they made the altar ready, Jesus presented Himself to his mind, and invited him to follow; for I am quite convinced that He is the head and guide of the Society, and that it is especially on this account that it ought to practise poverty and renunciation in the highest degree, though there are also other motives, which I have considered in coming to a decision. This idea disposed my mind to fervour and to tears, but also to perseverance. So that, if I had had none at this mass, and those of the following days, the feelings of that time sufficed to support me through all temptations and dryness. While I thought of all this, making ready for the mass, my emotions increased, and I saw a confirmation of the resolve I had taken; I had no other consolations. The Holy Trinity itself seemed to confirm my decision, for the Son communicated Himself to me; for I recalled to mind the time when the Father deigned to associate me with His Son. When I was ready, the name of Jesus impressed itself upon me more and more;

I felt fortified against all attacks. . . . When I had begun the holy sacrifice, I received many graces, and pious emotion, and gentle tears, which lasted long. As the mass proceeded, many inspirations confirmed what I had resolved ; and when I raised the Sacred Host, I felt as it were an inward suggestion, and a powerful impulse never to abandon our Lord, in spite of all obstacles ; and this accompanied by a new delight and fresh impressions. This . . . lasted the whole time of the holy sacrifice, and through the day. Whenever I thought of Jesus this pious sensation and this certainty returned to my mind.

Ignatius
framing
the Con-
stitutions.

Cardinal
Lega's
opinion.

On one point he deliberated ten days, and after deciding passed four more in prayer. He consulted the other Fathers on everything ; but usually not till he had well considered the matter himself, and come to some decision ; and it was a common practice of his to write down the reasons for and against in parallel columns. He withdrew sometimes from all other business to carry on this work. When he was in his room, Benedetto Palmia, a novice, was placed at the door that he might not be interrupted. He had read with great attention the rules of other religious orders, and employed Polanco to make extracts from them. But while he wrote his own, no books were near him, except the Scripture and the 'Imitation.' Perhaps Cardinal Lega knew this when he said the art by which the Society of Jesus had been so aptly and admirably formed was Divine, not human, and Ignatius built it up rather by inspiration than by skill. The enemies of the Jesuits compared the Constitutions to music of perfect harmony, to which are set magical words, by which they said the Jesuits transform those who listen to them into monsters. Ignatius one day asked Polanco if he thought that God assisted the founders of religious orders in framing their rules ? Polanco answered that he did believe it. 'I think so too,' said Ignatius ; and this was taken for an evidence that he had really received aid from Heaven. His mind was filled with the idea of uniting the active with the contemplative life, combining in some sense the aims of all the orders then existing ; the sentence which stands at the opening of the 'Spiritual Exercises' defines his object :—'Man was made to serve God, and honour Him ; by saving his own soul, and that of his neighbour.'

Therefore he enjoined mental prayer, self-examination, the study of the Holy Scriptures and sacred literature, frequent receiving of the sacrament of the altar, spiritual retreats, living in the perpetual presence of God ; and some part of all the practices of holy men.

But, since his aim was especially to make his disciples useful in the world, an army always ready to fight against the enemies of Christ and the Church, he trained them also to preach and catechise, to become missionaries in all parts, whether among careless Christians, or heretics, or heathen ; to hold disputations and controversies with the learned, and edifying conversation with persons of the world ; to visit prisons and hospitals, to receive confessions, enlighten perplexed consciences, and instruct youth.

Institute
of Loyola.

Education was particularly important in his opinion, as the best means of reforming nations sunk in luxury and unbelief.

He knew that the heretics endeavoured to pervert children, and that in Geneva they were taught songs against the Church of Rome. But, foreseeing that he would not collect many pupils if his schools instructed in nothing but religion ; and, moreover, that the Universities were daily becoming more and more inclined to admit the new doctrines, he endeavoured to form public classes, where all the sciences should be taught that were suitable to professors belonging to a religious order ; since astrology and alchemy were then counted among the sciences, this restriction was necessary. This resolution was not made immediately : during four or five years after his Institute was recognised by the Pope, the pupils were taught only the catechism. The first Fathers, dispersed over the world, had no time for more stationary and patient work, and the members who were gradually added to them had not yet gained experience enough to teach. Loyola desired they should accomplish themselves, at leisure, in humane letters, philosophy, theology, and the Scriptures ; but the earliest colleges of the company were only for those who desired to become members.

The vows were simple or solemn : the simple vows did not admit into the order ; those who took them might be afterwards dismissed, but they could not withdraw at their own pleasure.

The members thus admitted were afterwards to be divided into four classes. 1st. The temporal coadjutors, who were a sort of lay brothers, and studied only as much as was necessary for their own use, and the service required of them; when they were thirty years of age, and had been ten years in the Society, they might take the vows. 2nd. The scholastics: these, at Rome, resided at the Roman college; they were novices going through the course of study appointed them, according to the discretion of the Superiors. 3rd. The spiritual coadjutors, from whom the professed are taken. The professed of the three vows, who, with less of gifts or attainments than is required in the fourth class, are yet capable of being highly useful to the Society, and are frequently employed as rectors of colleges or residences, or upon inspections or missions. These must be thirty years old, and have been ten years in the Society. They are always few in number. 4th. The professed of the four vows, who have attained the required standard of learning and virtue, and form in fact the Society. From these are chosen the general and his assistants, and the provincials; their probation is from fifteen to eighteen years, and they must be thirty-three years old—the age at which our Saviour died.

And that these may never degenerate, Ignatius gives precise directions how the novices should be chosen and trained. Those who offered themselves were examined closely in respect of their circumstances. If born in wedlock, of honest parents, and who had other sons—for an only son Ignatius did not readily admit; if they had no bad tempers or dispositions, no infirmity of mind or body, not affianced in marriage, nor bound by any obligations, not having even belonged to any other order, they were admitted to their probation. And Loyola was well pleased when these qualifications were found, as it so often happened, in young men of noble birth. He said the endowments which fit a man for eminence in the world are highly valuable in a devout life; and he welcomed such persons as were best fitted to transact the business of the Society, and help on God's work with sovereigns and men in power.

He allowed none to enter who were of illegitimate birth, or had worn the dress of another order even for a day, or

who had openly professed heretical opinions ; they must be at least fifteen years old, but not more than fifty. He enquired what relations they had ; if they were attracted to enter the Society through a friendship with any of its members ; in this case, he desired they should have a longer time for reflection before entering on their novitiate ; he demanded perfect openness on the part of the young men, and enjoined absolute secrecy on the Superiors. The novices were warned that they must devote themselves henceforward exclusively to the service of God. They were asked if they were willing that not only those in authority, but also their companions, should remark their defects or misdoings, and report them to the Superiors ; and if they also, in a spirit of charity and obedience, will do the same when required ; and they must promise to accept readily the place or grade which shall be assigned them.

The novices, when admitted, pass a month in retirement, occupied with the 'Spiritual Exercises,' and afterwards make a general confession of their whole life. They were allowed then to assume the habit of the company, unless Ignatius expressly enjoined them to retain their ordinary dress. The novices were placed in three classes. Those designed for the priesthood ; those for temporal service ; and the indifferents, ready to become priests or temporal coadjutors, as the Superiors judged proper. The first novitiate lasted two years. It was devoted wholly to spiritual things ; they were to learn something every day by heart, in order to keep the memory in exercise, but abstain from all secular study. They also taught the elements of Christian doctrine to children and the poor. For a month at least they served the sick in some hospital ; for another month they made a pilgrimage of devotion, having no money given them, subsisting on the charity they received by the way. The persons who administered at the hospital, or saw the pilgrims on their journey, were desired to say what was known or thought of them. Then, if they were destined to be scholastics, they were removed to another house ; there they entered on the course of study marked out by Ignatius, but modified in the case of each novice by the judgment of his Superior, according to his abilities or turn of mind. Besides theology and the Scriptures, he was to

study philosophy, rhetoric, poetry and languages. But Ignatius desired that he should first of all be well exercised in Latin and humane letters; scholastic theology was not to come till after logic, metaphysics, and moral philosophy. There must be a rigorous examination at each advance to a new study. In each faculty the safest doctrine and most approved authors were to be followed. In the sacred languages, it was not merely exegetical skill they were to acquire, but also the means of defending the version adopted by the Church.

In these suggestions Ignatius remembered how he had wasted his own time at Alcalá, for want of a regular system, and the danger he thought he had run in reading a stray work of Erasmus. He saw also that he had committed a mistake in allowing the works of charity and piety that he delighted in to divert his mind from hard and ungenial studies; he ordered that the scholastics should not be sent out of doors, and pass no more than a fixed time in prayer. His kind nature provided for their health and recreation also: they were never to study more than two hours at a time; they were to be allowed sufficient sleep; they had days of relaxation, and places where they might every week pass some hours in the country. As it was not fit that they should spend time in asking alms, nor the world be taxed for the support of persons not yet useful to it, nor that the youths should bear the frequent destitution which was accepted by the older members, each novice retained his personal property, if he had any, but not the disposal of it; nor was he to consider himself as absolutely possessing anything whatever, not even his clothes nor his breviary; the expenses he caused to the Society were defrayed out of his own money; and what remained was restored to him, if he left it after all.

But the colleges, differing in this from the professed houses, were allowed to receive endowments or funds for their maintenance. These at first were given liberally; afterwards, as in the case of the German college, there were sometimes considerable difficulties to overcome.

The scholastics, thus indulged and cared for, were nevertheless exercised unremittingly, and with extreme strictness;

no fault was passed over, nor indolence tolerated. The rector of the college was to withdraw from study those who did not make reasonable progress. Some were then dismissed; others employed as temporal coadjutors. Besides their fixed daily prayers, they were enjoined to communicate every week; to examine their conscience twice a day; to make the 'Spiritual Exercises' once a year; but, above all, Ignatius attached importance to the custom of renewing their vows twice in every year, after three days' retreat, during which they declared in all Christian simplicity the state of their souls to their Superior, and repeated their general confession.

The time of study was usually extended to three, or even four years. Then came the third year of the novitiate; the year passed 'in scholâ affectus,' which has been called the masterpiece of Loyola's policy; when, having been accomplished in the schools, and ready now to enter on the holy and noble work to which he is destined, the novice is enjoined first to steep his soul afresh in the living waters, renounce all worldly study, and spend day and night in prayer, or in the humblest offices of the Christian missionary, among peasants and children.

If, after all, the young man thus trained was not found capable of the highest work, he might still be useful; and Ignatius availed himself of all degrees of ability, where there was singleness of heart and goodwill. Such members were considered in all respects as on the same footing as the others, but they did not take the fourth vow, which related to missions and especial obedience to the Pope. The simple vows might be after all remitted by the Society, and the novice return to common life.

This was the vow taken by the professed:—'I profess and promise to Almighty God, in presence of the Holy Virgin, His Mother, of all the Court of Heaven, and of all the persons now present, and to you, Reverend Father General, whom I regard as holding the place of God, and to your successors, perpetual poverty, celibacy, and obedience; and, in virtue of this obedience, particularly to instruct children, according to the rule of life contained in the apostolic letter granted to the Society of Jesus, and in the Constitutions.'

The fourth vow moreover binds the person taking it 'to go wherever the Pope should please to send him, whether among the faithful, or the heathen, without offering excuse, or asking money for the journey. And not, either directly or indirectly, seek to persuade the Pope on the subject of their mission.'

These vows cannot be annulled; the general must even obtain the assent of the Pope before he can dismiss a professed from the Society.

The houses of the professed can possess no funds; they must depend on alms only. All Jesuits must cherish poverty as a mother; they even declare that they will never allow any alteration of the laws of Loyola in this respect, unless to make the obligation more stringent. They received no payment for masses, nor for any spiritual function; they had no box for contributions in their churches. Every one must be willing at any moment to be sent out to beg, or to set forth on a foreign mission without money for the journey. They must accept no promotion or dignity out of the Society, nor seek any within it.

JOLY.

Cardinal Allen, after remarking how many priests of the Romish Church were become suspicious to the Protestants because their zeal appeared stimulated by their interests, and the care for their revenues and dignities, continues:— 'Therefore, it pleased the Lord to raise up new men, without money, place, bishopric, or abbey, humble in the eyes of the world, fearing none but God, hoping nothing but from God, looking on death as a deliverance; men who may be slain, but never subdued.' And by these new men, Cardinal Allen meant the Jesuits.

The general was to be elected for life by the assembled Society.

He had the sole power of naming the provincials, superiors of the professed houses, rectors of the colleges and novitiates. His residence was always to be at Rome; he must never make a long absence. But that he may be well acquainted with his people, the subordinates were enjoined to communicate with him frequently, and detail every circumstance relating to each member, and the minutest affairs of the province. These letters he received weekly, or as often as

possible; and at that time of slow travelling, and infrequent couriers, it is surprising to see how close was the correspondence thus kept up.

Each provincial was every year to send a general report to Rome. Every three years the catalogue of each province, which contained the name of every member, his age, abilities, gifts of any sort, qualities or defects, was carried to Rome by a deputy elected in the congregation of the province, composed of the provincials, rectors, and older professed.

When it was proposed to admit a member to any charge, or a new decree in the Society, more diligence was used to procure information from which the general could form his judgment on the fitness of the choice. Three persons were then separately and secretly to obtain and transmit all the information they could procure, and these testimonies, added to what the general possessed already, decided his opinion.

The congregation, when it elects the general, names also four assistants, each called from a principal province, who transact the affairs of that province under the general's direction, and are the agents through whom requests or applications to him are usually transmitted. But all, if they prefer it, may write to the general himself. Besides these, the congregation name a companion or secretary, who is also an admonitor, and is desired to represent respectfully to the general any bad result that they think likely to follow any of his proceedings. All these five are instructed to watch as well as assist the general. If they see in his conduct anything indiscreet or censurable—if he misapplies the property of the colleges, or falls into any error of life or doctrine, they must lay their observations before him; and in case of a great urgency or visible scandal, these assistants can summon without his assent a congregation of the order, or even depose him themselves, after obtaining by letter the suffrage of the provinces.

Each provincial has also his four assistants, and a companion or admonitor; it is a repetition on a small scale of the system applied at Rome.

Ignatius enjoins that the link of obedience and mutual charity should be carefully preserved throughout the whole Society. Each one was to regard his immediate superior

with the reverence he would show the general himself, and every one of the Society as his brother. All might speak to the general at all times, as sons would address a father, in full certainty of a tender and paternal attention; the same rule of life was to be observed as nearly as possible amongst all the members, in spite of differences of climate or national customs. All in a house were to speak one language, that of the country they lived in. They were to regard each other as children of one parent, united by the closest ties, preventing one another in good offices, ever courteous and kind; they must show especial affection to strangers. Those who break the rules, or even are only not possessed by the spirit of the Society, or not likely to do its work well, are to be dismissed at once. Ignatius never decided on this dismissal without good cause and sufficient consideration; but when he had clearly seen the necessity, he would even call up a member in the middle of the night, and send him away. In such cases his vows were annulled, and he was free to follow any other calling; and if he had given money to the Society, it was repaid; the expulsion was made with as little injury to his repute as possible. 'For,' said Ignatius, 'the Superior should use such caution and tenderness in this act as a surgeon would in cutting off a limb.'

The prohibition against accepting dignities was so strict and comprehensive, that even the Pope's injunction was not sufficient, unless he commanded on pain of mortal sin. For the Jesuit must consume his strength and pass his life in serving or teaching his fellow-creatures, with no reward but the favour of Christ; he works 'for the greater glory of God' only; he absolutely refuses every earthly or personal recompense.

This outline describes the Institute as it stands now; but its laws were not strictly defined and fully written till a short time before Ignatius died. He always went on amending and completing, desiring the approbation of his companions at every step.

As he concluded his work he divided it into ten parts. The 1st describes the qualities which allow or forbid the admission of novices; 2nd, the causes and manner of rejection; the 3rd and 4th relate to health, devotion and study; the 5th explains the profession of the four vows and the inferior degrees; the 6th and 7th instruct the professed and spiritual

coadjutors in their various offices; the 8th and 9th concern the general, his election, authority and duties; the 10th, and last, gives several directions for the conservation and increase of the Society.

Ignatius wrote in Spanish; Polanco, his secretary, translated it into Latin. These rules were not absolutely inflexible, for Ignatius added to them these words:—‘So far as the differences of time, place and circumstances will permit.’ And the congregation, but not the general, can make some modifications. The Bulls of Paul III. and Julius III. contain all that is fundamental and invariable in the order.

In these Constitutions, six points are characteristic of the Society of Jesus, because either not practised by any other order, or not so especially and prominently:—

Character-
istics
of the
Society.

The instruction of children, and of the poor, which was so fallen into disuse, that the Council of Trent admonished the parochial clergy thereupon. Twenty years after, a congregation was established with this particular object.

Foreign missions; for though some religious orders had occasionally sent messengers amongst the heathen, who had laboured with success, there was not one distinctly obliged to do this at the Pope's bidding.

The instruction of youth of all ranks, and to the highest extent of culture, without payment in any sort.

The ‘Spiritual Exercises,’ which first applied a system and method to the meditations and retreats always practised. They have never been superseded, and time has only established their efficacy.

The ministering to the sick in hospitals, and to prisoners; first included as a separate duty of any order in the Constitutions of Ignatius. Since then, two orders have arisen, which devote themselves especially to this charity.

Lastly, the missionary work in country districts, preaching, instructing, hearing confessions, and commencing pious associations, which had been done in all ages, after the example of the Apostles; but Ignatius first made it a part of his Institute, and revived a zeal for these labours when their practice was neglected and almost forgotten.

The Spanish in which the Constitutions are written, like that of St. Ignatius's letters, is sometimes obsolete, and a passage here and there not very easy to understand. But as

the translation of Polanco was made under his eye, this is unimportant. His thoughts seem to have reverted occasionally to the laws of his own country; the *Fueros* of Biscaya were evidently in his mind. In some parts there is an appearance of abrupt transition, as if sentences had been cut out; the Latin shows that this is an appearance only, and that the sense is actually carried on.

Cardinal Richelieu's opinion of Loyola's system was expressed in these words.—‘*Avec des principes si surs, des vues si bien dirigées, on gouvernerait un empire égal au monde.*’ He said he knew nothing more perfect than the Institution of the Jesuits; ‘*et que tous les souverains pourraient en faire leur étude et leur instruction.*’

Ireland,
1541.

The journey of Salmeron and Brouet to Ireland took place in the first year of Ignatius's generalship. Robert, Archbishop of Armagh,¹ a Scotchman, blind from his childhood, but singularly gifted, raised by his learning and piety to the primacy of Ireland, now taking refuge in Rome from the persecutions of Henry VIII., had asked Pope Paul III. to send an apostolic nuncio into that unhappy country, with full powers to give the sacraments, grant dispensations, and fortify the afflicted people.² Such a mission required great courage and judgment in the persons undertaking it; the state of Ireland was deplorable—almost all the nobility acknowledged the supremacy of Henry VIII., and the most cruel persecution awaited the common people, who continued to profess the old faith. All intercourse with Rome became a matter of life and death; the exercise of Catholic duty was prohibited under barbarous penalties, and the country, wild and uncivilized at all times, now exhibited the fearful spectacle of a nation conquered and prostrate, under the despotism of men insatiable of plunder and rule, and irritated by all the fierceness of scorn and hate.

¹ Wancop; some called him Venantius.

² From a letter addressed by Paul to Con Baccough O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, it appears that an emissary named Raymond had been sent to Rome with the same petition. The Pope then says he has sent two nuncios, John and Alonzo; so that the delay in starting must have been occasioned by the death of Codure. Raymond is thought to have been Redmond O'Gallagher, Bishop of Killala, and martyred in Elizabeth's days.

Codure had been named for this perilous mission ; a better destiny was granted him. Paschase Brouet and Salmeron were sent in his place, bearing all the privileges attached to the apostolic nunciature ; these were to avail the Irish people, not themselves. They expected to set off alone, on foot, without provisions or money, like the Apostles of our Lord's day ; but Francis Zapata, a young nobleman, who had been a notary in one of the Pontifical Cancellarias, and now aspired to enter the Society of Jesus, obtained leave to accompany them, and defray all the expenses of the journey. This expedition, in all ways full of peril, was a worthy entrance on his novitiate. The three left Rome on the 16th September, 1541. Ignatius gave them instructions, admirably suited to their necessities and their respective characters ; Salmeron was somewhat impatient, Paschase had the sweetness of an angel in all his words and ways :—

When you have to treat on matters of business with any one (says Ignatius), particularly if they are your equals or inferiors, you should speak little, and not till the other has spoken, showing respect to the rank and distinction of every one ; and listen much and readily, until he you converse with has made an end. Answer then every point severally ; and take leave when you have nothing more to say. If he continues to speak, answer as briefly as possible. Let your leave-taking be concise, but gracious.

When you have to do with a great personage, you should, in order to gain his affection, for the greater glory of God our Master, study his disposition, and act accordingly. If, for example, he be of a vivacious temper, if he speaks rapidly and much, then assume with him something of a familiar tone, adopt his ways in things good and holy, and be not too serious, nor reserved or solemn. But with those of a more phlegmatic character, who are slow of speech, grave and measured in discourse, adopt a manner similar to theirs ; this is sure to propitiate them. *I have made myself all things to all men.*

When two persons who are both of quick temper are engaged in any affair, unless they have entirely the same opinions, there is a great risk that they will not agree. When any one knows that he is choleric by nature, he should study minutely all that concerns the intercourse he must have with others, and prepare himself, if possible, by a close examination of himself, and resolving to endure anything rather than yield at all to an impetuous instinct, particularly if the person he has to do with should be easily moved. If

this person be apathetic or reserved, there is less risk of his being irritated by inconsidered words.

If we observe that any one is tempted and melancholy, let us be kind and good to him, conversible, and showing him both at home and abroad much cheerfulness and complaisance. In order to edify and console such persons, it is desirable to assume a disposition contrary to their own. But in all conversations, and those especially which concern spiritual things, or when hostile persons are to be reconciled, it is needful to remember that everything that is said may be, or really will be, known to all the world.

In expediting business, be liberal as to time—that is to say, give a promise that the thing shall be done immediately, the same day if possible. If you have any superintendence to exercise, it is best that Master Francis (Zapata) should be charged with it, so that you may fulfil your obligations to every one; yet neither of you touch any money; let it be rather deposited with some one. Let whoever asks a dispensation remit the price himself to this depository, and receive from him a regular receipt, after which the dispensation or expeditions may be given; or take other means, if you find any more suitable; only take care that each of you may be able to say he has not received any, the smallest, sum for this mission.

When you have to speak to persons of high rank, let Paschase Bronet do it. Consult together on all points on which you do not agree; let the advice of two out of the three be adopted. Write often to Rome during your journey, when you arrive in Scotland, and when you have reached Ireland; then give every month an account of your mission.

Ignatius, in these instructions, avoids touching on the duties in which they had been commissioned and prepared by the Pope.

1542. War had broken out afresh in France, when the two nuncios with Zapata crossed it to reach Scotland; they repaired immediately to the court of King James V., to whom they bore a letter from the Pope. James promised to resist all the influence of his uncle, King Henry, and remain faithful to the Church. They reached Ireland in the beginning of Lent, 1542, without difficulty; but once there, their steps became beset with dangers, and sights of greater woe than they supposed possible. The people were filled with terror; the orders of Henry VIII., constantly disobeyed, were cruelly enforced whenever some unhappy Irishman was detected in the practices of his religion, or when any priest, lingering in-

cautiously among his flock, was dragged from his hiding-place. Those who refused to swear allegiance to Henry as the head of the Church, were denounced, imprisoned, and savagely punished. He ordered that all letters coming from Rome should be intercepted; any priests or persons assisting to uphold the Papal authority, and especially any delegates from Rome—for some rumour of the departure of the two Jesuits had reached England—were to be seized and surrendered to the King, or his viceroy in Ireland; and to harbour them incurred pain of death. Salmeron and Paschase landed in disguise. They found their approach filled the Catholics with consternation; but by degrees they pacified these fears, and inspired something of their own courage into the oppressed people, who gave them hospitality at the risk of their own lives. They were forced to change their abode every night; they dared not peril the friends who sheltered them by sleeping twice under the same roof. In this way they passed through Ireland, bringing everywhere strength and consolation; using the powers entrusted to them to confirm and excite the faith of these poor Irish, living amidst such terrible trials. They brought inestimable comfort to the clergy, whom they assisted and encouraged in their life of dread and concealment. They induced the people to raise what sums they were able to help the churches and the poor, and this money was entrusted to persons chosen by the Irish, usually their bishops, whom they had at that time the right of choosing, as well as their pastors of the second order.

In thirty-four days Salmeron and Brouet had traversed the island, not unsuspected. The viceroy learned that something unusual was going on; it was guessed that emissaries had arrived from Italy; a price was set upon their heads; death and confiscation of goods was proclaimed against any person or family who harboured them. Paul III., apprised of the state of things, sent them an order to return. They obeyed; but first they intended to execute a project which could hardly have occurred to the mind of any but a disciple of Loyola. It was indeed a desperate measure; they meant to go to London to ask an audience of the King. His character had not yet fully shown itself; it was believed there.

might be some conscience and some mercy in him still accessible to their appeal. But when they returned to Scotland, they found it in a worse state than before; the emissaries of Henry VIII. had set the country in a blaze. Many Scotch nobles saw a large confiscation of Church property pending to reward them if they aided the English interests. The Jesuits soon found that their mission in Great Britain was closed.

King James gave them a passage from the west coast to Dieppe; thence they went to Paris, where they waited further instructions from the Pope. He bade them return to Italy; they left Zapata to complete his studies at the University, and pursued their way on foot as before. At Lyons they stopped. France was at war with Spain, and Salmeron was a Spaniard; their travel-worn garments and humble ways, quite at variance with their language, made them to be taken for spies. They were imprisoned; they appealed to two cardinals then at Lyons—Tournon and Gaddi—who recognised them, caused them to be treated with the honours due to legates of the Holy See, and sent them on their journey, provided with money, horses and guides.

They reached home in November. When the Archbishop of Armagh heard of their successes and disappointments, blind as he was, he resolved to return to his flock. ‘Now,’ said he, ‘I perceive, that unless the sheep hear the voice of the shepherd, nothing can be done.’ But the Pope would not consent to this; he sent him, confiding in his remarkable endowments, to Germany, as his legate; and afterwards Wancop assisted at the Council of Trent. He must have been a man of rare ability, since his blindness had not hindered him from professing divinity at Paris. He ever loved and venerated the Society of Jesus, and died at Lyons, in their college.

Nov. 10,
1551.

Zapata

Francis Zapata completed his studies at Paris, returned to Rome, and entered the novitiate of the company there. But it was not his fortune to remain. Perhaps something too much of pride and independence had been discovered by Ignatius in his character; for one night he was called out of his bed, and told that he must leave the house at daybreak.

Yet his offence did not seem very heavy: he was disgusted by the excessive and public humility of Jerome Nadal, who had taken to preaching in the open air at Monte de' Banchi, near the Ponte Sant' Angelo. This was a sort of market-place, surrounded by stalls or *banchi*, which the common people much frequented, and therefore jugglers, improvisatori, story-tellers, and the other accompaniments of an Italian crowd, were often found there.¹ Zapata laughed at him, and called him 'Monte Banchino.' This was reported to the general by his intendant, when he came as usual, at night, to report to him on the state of the house and the occurrences of the day. Ignatius instantly sent for Zapata, though it was long after the hour when the novices went to bed, and in spite of his earnest entreaties, and many tears, he was made to depart at daylight.

Zapata was, nevertheless, learned and good; he afterwards entered a convent of Franciscans, and ever spoke of the Society of Jesus with respect.

Paschase Brouet, on his return from Ireland, was sent to Foligno, at the request of Cardinal Blosio, its bishop. There he revived discipline and fervour in the convents, knowledge and letters in the clergy (he sometimes had to teach ecclesiastics the first rudiments of grammar), piety and morality among all. He produced, says Orlandini, such a reform as seems miraculous, and was no less successful at Monte Pulciano, whither he went at the request of the Cardinal, who loved it because it was his birthplace. Strada was there, and his brilliant eloquence obtained extraordinary influence over the people; they followed him from door to door, as he went through the streets asking alms for the poor; the money given him was received by these citizens and spent in public charity. Then, invited by Cardinal Carpi, Brouet went to Reggio, and undertook the reform of a nunnery, which had grievously lost the spirit of their order; then, to Faenza; there he found Le Jay combating with success the hostile influence of Bernard Ochino. The Jesuits began with charity to the poor, persuasion to the rich, a great zeal to inspire the love of Christ in all; then they came to

Brouet at
Foligno.

Monte
Pulciano.

Strada.

Reggio.

Faenza.
Le Jay.
Ochino.

¹ The name is retained in the 'Vicolo de' Banchi,' a small street still remaining near the river. Our word 'mountebank' is an obvious derivation.

Brouet.

controversy, and publicly discussed the arguments of the new teachers. Brouet thought the people had something noble and generous in them, in spite of their wanderings; he proceeded amid such difficulties with characteristic caution. He sought the higher minds first, then descending to the ignorant, he taught them with the patience of one instructing children, and procured from the rich the means of accompanying these lessons with relief to all who were in want. He found Ochino a formidable antagonist, for he possessed great powers of oratory; his long beard and coarse habit, the fame of his austere life, disposed his hearers to respect him; his elocution, clear, rapid, and impassioned, gave an immense force to what he said. 'I opened my heart to him,' says Bembo, 'as I might have done to Christ Himself. I felt, as I looked at him, that I had never beheld a holier man.' Charles V., when he heard him, said, 'Truly this man would make the stones weep.' Ignatius earnestly desired to recover one so highly gifted; he wrote to Le Jay, then at Dillinghen, enjoining him to take the greatest pains to gain the friendship of Ochino, and bring him back to the Church. If Ochino would only write a letter, or at least a few words of repentance, Ignatius, in the name of Paul III., promised him paternal indulgence. Le Jay was to tell him that Laynez and Salmeron (whose interest was great with Paul III.) were then with Ignatius in Rome, and all would protect him as men who had but one soul with himself. But it was long ago too late. Ochino was for a short time in England, summoned thither in 1548, by Cranmer, to help him, along with Peter Martyr, to reform the English Church; afterwards he went to Switzerland, became a Socinian, it was said, married, preached polygamy, and died in old age without any return to the ancient faith.

Faenza.

The Jesuits were more successful with the opulent and educated townspeople of Faenza. They established a Sodality among them, which was to carry food and medicines to the poor, and spiritual aid besides. These persons chose from themselves a physician to attend the sick, and a lawyer to speak for the oppressed. This answered well; the Sodalists, guided by Paschase, spread a salutary influence through the city, and prepared it for the instructions which he gave in

Brouet.

the churches, in schools, in public exhortations, in private conferences and conversation. Among the young he was so successful, that in a school of 400 not even a single evil word was now uttered. He brought peace into families long disunited by the eternal quarrels of those Italian towns; he appeased enmities so well, that hundreds at one time were seen assembled to offer friendship to one another, and receive the blessing of Paschase. He stayed at Faenza two years—the time commonly appointed by Ignatius for these missions.

Salmeron was sent, immediately after his arrival from Ireland, to encounter worse hardships at Modena, whither Cardinal Morone invited him, because the free-thinking spirit of the day was powerful there; and it revenged itself on the attacks of Salmeron by accusations of the bitterest kind, both against his orthodoxy and his morals. The dissentients of Modena even went so far as to carry these to the Court of Rome. Ignatius, knowing well the innocence of his friend, summoned him to vindicate himself personally at the Papal Court. Salmeron did this so effectually, that the Pope bade him return to Modena; he remained there two years.

1543.
Salmeron
at Modena.

When Brouet and Rodriguez were sent to Sienna along with Francis Strada, they found that one of its celebrities was a priest who wrote plays, not always of a very scrupulous character, and moreover acted in them. For theatricals were the passion of the Siennese, and they had communicated this to other parts of Italy, where Ignatius and his order were not slow to take it up. The dramatic priest heard the Jesuit preach; he was moved with Strada's brilliant and pathetic eloquence; he visited the Fathers, and yielding to their entreaties, consented to go through the 'Spiritual Exercises.' The first meditations filled him with horror of his past life; when he had come to the conclusion, he was no longer the same man. One day he mounted the pulpit in the fashion of a penitent, a rope round his neck, and with tears and moving expressions of contrition for his past life, he asked forgiveness of his congregation for the scandal he had given them. He then withdrew wholly from the world; and as the novitiate was very long among the Jesuits, he became a Capuchin. This remarkable conversion

Sienna.

made a great impression on Paul III., and disposed him to appreciate the Society more highly than ever.

Portugal.

Jan. 1544.
Coimbra.
1546.

King Joam, resolved to fix and spread the Society of Jesus in Portugal, asked the Pope to transfer some vacant benefices to the use of a college in Lisbon, and in 1542 he gave to Rodriguez the house of St. Antonio Abbate. Rodriguez took possession of it along with his disciples Scalecati and Médairé. That same year he commenced the college at Coimbra; he opened it with twenty-five pupils; in August there were sixty; and in 1546, that year when the Jesuits began to take possession of their function as educators of Europe, or we may say of the world,¹ Coimbra was the first which admitted youths not intended for the priesthood; it became the most important of all the establishments they had in the Peninsula. Ignatius, in accordance with his system, filled it with foreigners; he abolished all ties of country as well as of relationship: his disciples were to be citizens of the world, sons of our Lord and His dear Mother only, and he thought they gained a useful knowledge of human nature by their transfer to distant places; everywhere they spoke the language of the country, even among themselves. The Portuguese, at first, did not like this; they were not well pleased with priests who came from cities where heresy prevailed; but Rodriguez and his associates soon vanquished all distrust and prejudice, and the company were nowhere more popular and successful than in Portugal and Spain.

Rodriguez
at Court.

When Ignatius bade Simon accept the charge of tutor to the King's son, he continued to practise the utmost humility of life and habits. When he travelled with the Prince he sent back the horse provided for him, and took an ordinary baggage-mule. A prelate who met him reproved him, and offered him a better mount; he ought, said the prelate, 'to consider the majesty of the King.' 'I strive to honour Him who is my true Master,' said Simon, 'by that humility which belongs to my profession.' He said the Court was a prison and a purgatory to him; that the two

¹ Lancillotti taught Latin in Goa the year before.

events in his life which had most displeased him were—when he was hindered from going to the Indies, and when he was forced to take up his abode in a palace. Once, in a time of great distress, he asked assistance of the King; he received immediately 50,000 crowns, but he would keep only 17,000. Just then the Turks landed on the coast of Portugal. Simon Rodriguez considered that the King would now need all his treasury contained to equip his defences, and sent back nearly the whole gift; and King Joam accepted and used the money, but soon after made a large and permanent endowment on the college.

Rodriguez made it a strict rule, that no one in the house was to be a day without doing something to improve or edify some fellow-creature; if any one had omitted this, he was to accuse himself before supper to the Superior, without whose permission he must not presume to eat with the rest.

Sometimes Simon sent out the Fathers at night, to cry out in the streets, ‘Hell is made ready for those who live in sin!’ Others went in the evening to the places where two or more streets met, and declaimed rhymes which meant—‘Death approaches, and yet the sinner does not leave off his sin; alas, what folly!’

When the Fathers preached in the open air, he sent out some to collect an audience; they went about saying, ‘God invites you even from the Piazzas; let whoever would save his soul, come, and listen!’ And it was said they always caught some souls.

That incident which has been so often quoted in speaking of the ‘Exercises’ occurred in Coimbra. One who had gone through them was questioned by persons who believed the Jesuits were sorcerers. ‘Did they not show you monsters and demons?’ said they. ‘Worse than that!’ said the man; ‘they made me see myself!’

Ignatius now entered on the course of life which was never afterwards interrupted, except on two occasions when he was absent from Rome on errands of charity; once to restore peace between the inhabitants of Tivoli and their neighbours Tivoli and

Castel
Madama.

of Castel Madama. Ignatius interfered at the Pope's desire. The people of St. Angelo and of Tivoli had long quarrelled, and now broke into open war. Ignatius treated with Margaret of Austria, wife of Ottavio, Duke of Parma, who was Lord of St. Angelo; and with the magistrates of Tivoli and of Castel Madama; he persuaded the parties to refer their differences to the Cardinal of Cueva, and meanwhile to lay down their arms. At this time Ignatius lodged with Luigi Mendozze, at Tivoli, who offered him a house with gardens, and a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, near the ruins of the house of Mæcenæ. Ignatius accepted the gift, and this new establishment of the company was opened on the birthday of Our Lady. The house and gardens remain; the gardens belong to the Jesuits now. The place where Ignatius resided with Mendozze is now the property of Signor Trinchies, whose family show with pride a room looking over the Campagna, towards Rome, which he is said to have occupied; and a large press, considered the only relic of the furniture of his time, now filled up with an altar. It is the end house on the north side of the street, as you enter Tivoli from Rome.

In Castel Madama the Farnesi had a mansion—still standing—where Ignatius lodged when he visited this romantic town. The people still remember him as a benefactor, and a bust of him remains in their church.

The Bishop of Tivoli appears to have been a troublesome personage; he forbade the rector, Navarro, to use the privileges granted to the Society by the Pope. Ignatius appealed, and an order was issued to the bishop and vicar to desist from their opposition. Yet Navarro had displeased Ignatius, and received a reprimand for having maintained his rights with too little humility. On his second absence, Ignatius travelled in winter to Alirto, in the kingdom of Naples, to reconcile Ascanio Colonna and Joanna of Arragon his wife. Commonly even sickness made small difference in his habits: he said mass every morning, until Paul III., at the request of some of the Fathers, inhibited him for a time, lest the tears he shed should injure his sight. Before he went to the altar, he had read over the service appointed in the missal with care. He could seldom get through the

mass in less than an hour, because of the emotion it caused him. But he said, for priests generally, half an hour was enough. After the celebration, he always passed two hours alone. He had in the wall of his chamber a little window looking into the chapel, whence he could see the tabernacle, and there he delighted to kneel and meditate. Louis Gonsalez, minister of the house, says he was sometimes forced to interrupt him to ask directions; and saw on his countenance the radiance of one who, like Moses, had been communing with God. Then, if any matters called him abroad, he went out with one companion, according to the rule of his Society; this at first was frequently young Ribadeneira. If at home, he received persons who called on him; he was accessible to all, acting on the principle he enforced on all his community, that there must be no time, place, or circumstances when the servant of God is not ready to assist the smallest of His children.

They dined at noon, in a room almost completely dark, because their next-door neighbour built out their windows; and Ignatius would not take any steps to remove this grievance, as he might have done, but bore it for eight years, when the man was induced, by an exorbitant price offered for his house, to sell it to them.

Then they went to another room, where they conversed for an hour. Ignatius usually talked of the undertakings they were engaged in; it was the duty of all to be communicative and free of speech at this time; it was called the hour of recreation, and charity enjoined that each should help to make it pass as a relief and restoration with a useful interchange of ideas. But no friendships, in the common sense of the word, were tolerated; fraternal love forbade an obvious preference of one man's conversation to another; all were brothers, and loved each other for Christ's sake. One of the early Fathers writes:—'If any one were to say, this man is my friend, or such an one loves me, such worldly language would be regarded as strange, and heard with astonishment, for where all love each other as themselves, all are friends.' After this hour of conversation, Ignatius returned to business, read and answered letters, and dictated to his secretary. But Ignatius himself wrote much, and with such care, that

he would copy a letter three or four times rather than let it leave the house incorrectly written.

After supper, all who had any charge in the house came to him, gave him minute information as to all that concerned their respective departments, and received his directions. He questioned the infirmarian with extraordinary solicitude about the sick, whom he took under his especial charge. Once, the minister having owned that he had not procured for a sick man some soft skins that had been ordered to wrap round him, Ignatius sent him out, though it was night, with two companions to find out and bring the skins. Another time, both infirmarian and steward had omitted to send in good time for the physician; when midnight came, but no physician, Ignatius sent them out to fetch him, telling them they should not enter the house again without him; and as he was not then to be found, they took refuge in a hospital till morning. Ignatius never relinquished his care of the sick, even when his own health obliged him to leave other charges to his officials; he went to see them frequently, visited and watched them during the night, if their illness was serious, and comforted them with kind words. When Ribadeneira was bled, Ignatius went to him many times to see that the bandages had not moved. He sometimes said, he thought God had sent him so much ill-health that he might feel for it in others. He wrote comforting letters to the Fathers who were ill during an absence. One of these is now placed on the wall of the room he occupied at Rome, written in Italian with his own hand. Ignatius would often wait upon the sick, make their beds, and shunned no menial work in the house for them. He respected such afflictions; he was greatly displeased with a Father who had thoughtlessly repeated as a jest the sayings of a poor brother who was delirious.

Sometimes it happened that the funds of the house were very low, when food or remedies were needed for the sick; once, when some delicate food was ordered for one of the assistant brothers, there was no more than three pauls in the hands of the steward. 'Spend them for the sick man,' said Ignatius, 'we will dine on bread.' Another time he sold the pewter plates and dishes, and coverings from the

beds, to obtain things asked for by the infirmarian. There was a patient whose sufferings were increased by a melancholy that even Ignatius could not console; he sent some novices, who sang well, to cheer him with music. It was a remedy that had often appeased the maladies of Ignatius formerly, and soothed his pains; but he thought this an indulgence, and would seldom allow it to be tried on himself. But God often comforted him with angels' songs—he said he heard music in his heart without voice or tones. Those that were convalescent he retained under his particular direction, that they might not be overburdened with duties, till they were quite strong.

Once, at a time when the house was very crowded and very poor, two lay brothers were admitted—Guillaume, a Frenchman, and Alphonso, a Spaniard; they fell ill immediately. Some of the brethren thought they should go to the hospital. They had no friends to recommend them, but Guillaume had nursed Alphonso, before they entered, very tenderly, when he had been ill; they both desired to lead a religious life. Ignatius said, 'Can we not find room in God's house for men who have quitted the world for His sake?' And he kept both.

When, at night, Ignatius had dismissed his ministers, he talked for some time with his secretary alone; he did not then go to rest, but usually walked up and down his room with a stick, often praying aloud. He gave himself but four hours for sleep, and these were often disturbed. Giovan Paolo, when he was in the room next him, sometimes heard groans and sounds as of blows, and at first went into the room; but he forbade him to return. Those about him believed he was attacked in the darkness by evil spirits; they did not dare to ask, and Ignatius said nothing.

When he went with his companion into the city, he wrapt himself in a *ferrajuolo*, the cloak commonly worn by churchmen in those days, probably resembling that we see in Italy now, an inheritance from the Romans of old times; on his head the *sombrero*, a large flapping hat; when in the house he had the curiously folded cap which has become the *beretta* of the clergy now. His eyes were habitually cast down; it was said he never looked at any woman, though

they came to speak to him frequently. When he raised those marvellous eyes, they uttered his whole soul, and could command, persuade, or comfort as he willed; strangers who saw him at Rome in his old age, for the first time, said that when he spoke to them his countenance seemed divine. But usually his look was simple and grave; nothing, when out of doors, visible of him but his face, unless he raised his hand to his head in salutation. He limped slightly in his walk, but he appeared to conceal this, and it was not often perceptible. The limb wounded at Pamplona continued always weak and painful when touched, yet he went about much with his stick, and on those two latter journeys travelled a long way on foot. He had long laid aside the sackcloth and rags of Manresa, and enjoined on his Society a particular neatness, and an abhorrence of all personal neglect. They were to take care that their dress was decent, conformable to the customs of the place where they lived, but not unsuited to their profession of poverty. To this he seems to have attached great importance, since he suffered Laynez and Salmeron to appear at the Council of Trent in garments which, though clean, scandalised the clergy present, and especially the Spaniards their countrymen, by being worn and patched. He thought neatness and care in the dress of old men a proof of a composed and well-governed mind; in young ones he desired indifference in externals, yet would not suffer the absence of cleanliness and order. For, like St. John of Kanty, he considered that the livery of Christ's service should be worn joyfully, and repulse none who looked on it.

Mendoza's
estimate
of Ignatius.

When time and the Pope's favour brought him into much notice, and his assistance was frequently asked, he kept himself aloof from all merely worldly transactions, and would never advise or aid even his own kinsfolk in such matters; and he was the more obliged to make this rule, because his worldly sagacity was known to be so great. Diego Mendoza, when he was ambassador from Spain, said the affairs of his master always prospered when he followed the advice of Ignatius—never in the opposite case. But he was kind, gentle, and accessible to all whom he could in any way influence for good. His manners were most noble and cour-

teous. Among strangers he made his way to each one's confidence by speaking at first of the subjects in which they were interested, saying a few words of commerce to the merchant, of war to the soldier, and so on; but if they had no serious purpose, he broke off at once from all lighter subjects, and spoke of Heaven, and the saving of souls. It was almost an unknown thing that any should leave him not impressed by his fervent words, and that ineffable charity which made only the sight of his countenance a consolation to sad hearts.

All the temporal wants of his children he attended to, and was wont to make a memorandum of each particular. But he was displeased at much solicitude for creature comforts; and when Bobadilla, much beloved by him, asked leave to occupy a larger room, Ignatius not only refused, but bade him prepare to lodge two more with him, to which Bobadilla assented with perfect readiness. For he had learned well the rule of poverty, 'cherishing it as a mother.' He used to mend the rents and patches of his garments himself, and he would kiss them, saying, 'These belong to my Master's livery.' Ignatius also reprov'd, with much sternness, and during many months, the self-indulgent and repining spirit of Silvestro Landini, a priest of Margrado, in Lunigiano, who sought admission to the company. During a long illness, he bore his sufferings with little patience, and showed a wilfulness unheard of in the rule of Ignatius. No notice was taken, and he was waited on as usual, with the utmost tenderness, till he was able to travel; Ignatius then sent for him, and bade him return to Margrado; he spoke with a gravity which prohibited all answer, and Landini did not dare to ask if this exile was meant as a dismissal from the Society. He had so great a love for Ignatius and his company, that this idea filled him with terror; he now set himself to toils and austerities. In all the country round Margrado he went about combating all evil customs, and the heresies which were now spreading over Italy; he wrote repeatedly to entreat forgiveness; nine letters to Ignatius, full of contrition, were not answered. But meanwhile some of the other fathers, by desire of Ignatius, consoled and encouraged him, and at last advised him to ask the intercession of Codace,

the patron and friend of the house, and now minister, to whom they said Ignatius could refuse nothing. Ignatius, willing to be entreated, wrote upon this to Landini, and told him he was still a member of the Society. When he received the letter, Landini threw himself on his knees to read it, kissing the signature repeatedly, and the vows he made in thanksgiving at that time he amply fulfilled ; labouring diligently in several Italian cities, and in Corsica, where, during the last seven years of his life, he effected a wonderful reform, and was believed by the people to have supernatural powers of healing and prophecy.

Poverty.

As Ignatius became better known, and gifts poured in upon the Society, his vigilance increased in watching over its precious possession of poverty ; the colleges, or charitable houses, received whatever was offered, but the professed and those who lived with him at the Gesù, were never to be supported out of these donations ; they were to receive their daily bread as an alms ; they could accept no recompense for masses, sermons, or any other ministry, even if offered as charity. Not only could they inherit nothing, but the Society could not inherit in their name.

They were not to dispose of anything, or use anything without permission, or even to move an image or picture in their room. He adhered so strictly to the rule which forbade the colleges to assist the professed, even with their superfluities, that he would not keep some wax which was sent by the college of Palermo, but transferred it to the Roman college. And he would very seldom, in later years, allow one of his own people to share any meal at the Roman or German colleges.

Those who took an apple from the garden, or dispensary, or even picked it up from the ground when it had fallen, highly displeased him. He even bade the offenders accuse themselves of this before any other sin in the confessional ; it was equally prohibited to pluck a flower ; it was appropriation, and this was against the spirit of the order.

It was his custom to be slow in coming to any decision ; he wished, as well after as before he had become general, to make the other Fathers participate in the direction ; he sought all means of information, then summoned those who

could best advise him, and sometimes would fix an hour by the glass for consultation, during which time no other subject was to be introduced. When they had long discussed, he would not yet decide immediately; he was used to add, 'Now it remains that we retire to rest, and then carry this matter to God in prayer.' Those who gave an opinion off-hand, and decided without deliberation, greatly displeased him; he called them 'decretalisti.'

Those who were about him said his words were like laws, they were so weighty and well considered, never more nor less than the occasion demanded. Gonsalez said, 'To see and hear Ignatius was like reading a chapter in the "Imitation of Christ."' He praised little; he very seldom blamed; he never spoke of faults if he could help it; he disapproved others doing it. If possible, when such things were mentioned, he excused the intention at least. He would sometimes go as far as saying, 'Truly, I would not have done it.' He thought to reveal faults was a great sin. Once, having spoken to three persons of a slight fault in a brother, when two would have sufficed, he immediately went to confess this with great contrition, though it was not a matter to touch the good name of the offender. He was accustomed in conversation to speak less than he listened; he never interrupted the speaker, nor went from one subject to another without cause; he thought it a fault if any of his brethren did this, and was silent. No word of contempt or passion ever fell from his lips. His manner of expressing himself was very plain, and he never used superlatives. When he told a story, or wished to convince or persuade, he put in simple and natural words what he wanted to say, making no comment; that he left to his hearers. He was so accurately true, that whenever he related to Gonsalez a story he had told many years before, he repeated not only the exact facts, but nearly in the same words. Usually his discretion was perfect; once he incautiously made a promise of assistance in some secular affair, in which he afterwards thought it better that he should not interfere. He was greatly distressed; he said to Gonsalez, 'I do not think such a thing has happened to me these eleven or twelve years past.' He was so accustomed to find charitable extenuations of all that appeared wrong

in others, that in the house 'the interpretations of Ignatius' was a proverb.

The building Codace gave the Society had a garden, in which Ignatius delighted to walk; he loved plants and flowers, and everything in earth or heaven was full to him of God. When he went there, and sat or walked, wrapt in contemplation, the Fathers drew edification from his attitude and countenance, and watched him from the windows. There was a terrace at the top of the house where he liked, on the summer nights, to sit and gaze on the stars; Laynez once heard him say, 'Oh, how poor does earth appear to me when I look up to heaven!'¹

The eventide was to him an especially solemn and sacred time. He would then always be alone with God for an hour. If any came to see him, the assistant brother was ordered not to knock, but push open the upper part of the door, which was in two panels, and say what was wanted at the outside. In going about in the country, he was much used to look up fixedly at heaven; so that some one described him as 'that Father who is always looking up and talking with God.'

When Laynez asked him his method of prayer, he answered, 'that in the things of the Lord,' he proceeded rather 'as those who receive than as those who work.'

One day, on the Feast of St. John Lateran, as he was saying mass, he was filled with such joy that it exhaled in tears and moans. A man whispered to Francis Strada, who had served the mass, 'That priest of yours must have been very wicked, for his conscience smote him so at mass, that he wept all the time.'

He would not be called in the house by any title but simply Ignatius. Laynez ventured to ask him one day, if it were true that he had an archangel for his guardian. He answered nothing, but blushed like a young girl, and turned away his face.

He was very grateful to benefactors, prayed daily for them, visited them in their houses, received them at all hours, and talked freely with them on the concerns of the Society,

¹ It is still shown.

especially of the news from India, about which all were curious.

He practised self-examination as strictly as he enjoined it. He once asked a Father, how often he had examined himself that day? The Father answered 'seven times.' 'Only seven times!' said Ignatius, and yet it was not much past noon. At mid-day and at night he made what he called 'particular examination,' which referred to some besetting fault. He kept a string, on which he tied a knot as often as he fell into this fault; it is said that he did this up to a few hours before his death.

A Father asked him how to obtain perfect humility. 'This is the way,' said Ignatius; 'do exactly the opposite of what is done by men of the world—hate what they seek, and seek what they avoid.' Ignatius gave large instructions on this subject to novices; he impressed on them that 'humility is truth.' He had absorbed this, so to speak, so thoroughly into his mind, that he said he feared vainglory less than any other sin.

But charity, the love of God, and of man, for God's sake, was his passion, that which engrossed his whole soul and stamped his character. All his instructions ended with these words, many times repeated—'Love God with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your will.' He said if he could go to hell without a sin of his own, he should suffer more from the evil tongues of the damned, blaspheming God, than from the torments of hell fires.

And he thought that to endure affliction for Christ's sake was the greatest safety and the highest privilege that a Christian could desire. He said, 'If God sends you great sufferings, it is a sign He will make you a great saint; and if you wish Him to make you a great saint, pray that He may send you great sufferings.' 'All the honey which can be extracted from worldly pleasures is not so sweet as the gall and vinegar of Christ.' And he told Ribadeneira one day, with joy, that our Saviour had granted him a favour long asked, that the heritage of the Passion should never fail the Society.¹

¹ A prophecy fulfilled up to this time, for they are still, as for 300 years past, indefatigable in the saving of souls, perversely misrepresented and stupidly misunderstood.

His habitual self-control seldom allowed any outward expression of joy or sorrow to be seen in his countenance, but sometimes the news of a calamity made him look glad and thankful. And when the favour both of court and people surrounded the Jesuits everywhere in Portugal, and nothing reached his ear but successes, he told Gonsalez one day that he feared lest the zeal of the Fathers had diminished, and that was why Satan was less hostile.

He particularly detested laziness; he asked an assistant who seemed loitering, 'Dear brother, for whom are you doing that?' 'For the love of God,' answered the brother. 'Then I assure you, if you do no better hereafter I shall give you a heavy penance; if you were working for men, it might be no great fault to do it with so little pains; but working for God so carelessly, is without excuse.'

One day the Fathers discussed this question, whether they would prefer being made safe at once in heaven, or remaining on earth to serve God longer? Laynez confessed that he would gladly accept such a security. 'And I,' said Ignatius, 'would choose rather to remain, and work on for the glory of God; for I am sure that He is a generous Master, and would not allow a soul to suffer damage that had postponed its own enjoyment of heaven in order to increase His glory here.'

He strove to live so as to keep this resolution, ever to spend the present hour better than the last.

He thought that a confidence in God's assistance beyond what the world deemed prudent was agreeable to Him; he said, 'Whoever would do a great work for the glory of God must not be over-wise, nor act only in accordance with his means.' And during the latter years, when misfortune often seemed impending, his trust was greatly exercised and never deceived him. But probably he would not always have counselled the same conduct to other persons. For his prudence equalled his zeal; and in the exercise of his extraordinary gift of guiding and governing, he never made his own experience an exact rule for another.

About the time of Ignatius' arrival in Rome, much was

said about the extraordinary visions and raptures of a nun, named Maddalena della Crocc, who was believed by many to be a great saint. A Spanish priest, who entered the novitiate in 1541, Father Santa Cruz, spoke of her to Ignatius with unbounded admiration; he thought her inspired. But Ignatius reproved him: no member of the order of Jesus, he said, ought to speak thus, or draw any such conclusions. And it turned out that she was an impostor, and was afterwards silenced by the Inquisition.

Superstition and credulity discouraged.

Another Father had spoken to some novices about visions and such like miraculous favours. Ignatius found much fault with him, and forbade such talk.

The care with which Ignatius enjoined extreme humility, temperance, and moderation on all whom he had to guide in the spiritual life, is very remarkable in one who, from the beginning to the close of his career, believed himself surrounded by supernatural communication.

Excess in anything, or the presumption that often accompanies great zeal or uncommon efforts, were an evil that he seemed particularly to dread. He repressed unreasonable scruples, and when Brugelman, a Flemish priest, tormented by an extreme anxiety in saying his office, spent almost all day in it, he bade him not exceed an hour by the glass—if he had not finished then, to leave the rest unsaid. This cured him. An assistant brother, a Spaniard, obtained leave to fast on bread and water during Lent, but on Good Friday Ignatius bade him eat as the rest did at the common table.

Cornelius Brugelman.

When he heard that Araoz was bidden by the physician to return to his native air, because he had reduced himself to great weakness by over-exertions and privations, he wrote to him:—

I recommend you moderation in work and in treatment of your person, which does not so much belong to you as much rather to Christ our Lord and the Society; and since this is the case, you must take care to preserve it, and not waste it as if it were your own property. And though it be charity which impels you to undertake things beyond your strength, yet even this, conjoined with obedience, obliges you to moderate these (works), so that you may preserve your health longer in God's service.

He comforted kindly the despondency of a lay brother,

Giovanni Milano, who had great mistrust of himself, and thought he should be forced to leave the Gesù. 'Be sure, brother Giovanni,' said Ignatius, 'if I continue in the Society you will too.'

It is remarkable that he frequently checked the zeal of his brethren in laudable things, almost always leaning to the side of indulgence. He was urged to enjoin a fast every Friday, but he would allow nothing more than the customary abstinence. At Venice the rector of its college, Andrea Galvanelli, gave exhortations during an hour daily, and on festivals these lasted two hours. But Ignatius bade him return to the rule of one hour weekly as before.

Truthful-
ness.

He always detested language of double meaning, anything ambiguous, or designed to mislead or conceal; regarding this as almost falsehood,¹ and therefore injurious to society, unworthy of generous and civilised men. He was himself eminently true, and showed in his own example how wide is the distance between prudence and cunning. He would have approved doubtless that opinion of his disciple, and almost contemporary, Suarez—that God Himself cannot excuse a lie; and of St. Augustine, who said that 'a lie must not be told even to save a Father's life'; and would not have any one seem to agree with the Priscillianists, in order to ascertain their tenets and hidden practices, because this would be attaining a good object by dishonest means.

Something like this seems to have been done by Olivier Manares. Doubtless, if we possessed the details, we should find Ignatius as scrupulous in this case as in every other; but Olivier does not tell it well for himself. He says he was invited to share the private and unauthorised devotions of several of the community, led by Fra Antonio Soldeviglia. 'And I pretended' says he, 'to applaud their zeal extremely.' If he admired their zeal, he was quite aware that this was a forbidden use of it. They assembled in a room after the hour for going to bed, and remained in extraordinary practices

¹ *Suspensa, vel ambigua, vel obscura verba, perplexum de industria incertumque sermonem, uti barbaras artes, et subdola mendacii tegumenta, fideique ac societati humanæ perniciem, semper est detestatus; ac suo monstravit exemplo, veritatis cultor eximius, quantum inter prudentiam et calliditatem intersit.*

of devotion half through the night; Pietro Silvio, a very promising student, was made nearly mad, and others manifestly injured by these extravagances.

Ignatius was exceedingly angry, and sent away Soldeviglia to Naples.

Ignatius showed the tenderness of a true father in his solicitude for the young, or for those who were new in the religious life: he kept them near him; they were lodged in the house, under his eye; he became intimately acquainted with each, adapted himself to the character of every individual, 'so that he seemed,' it was said, 'to be the Superior of each separately more than of the order.' He understood and sympathised with his children so entirely, that all of them, the young novices and the mature Fathers, were willing to show him their whole hearts. He had no partialities; it was believed that Faber, the earliest of his companions, was also the dearest to him, but he never betrayed this. When he was obliged to reprove, he did it in such fashion that it was said he healed the wounds he inflicted, so as not to leave a scar. And Ribadeneira says all had such love for Ignatius, that none resented a reproof from him. Bartoli says that, except one man, whose name he never heard, there was no heart in the Society not devoted to him.

Among these men, Ignatius would have no distinction of country and language, except, he said, 'that we should show particular friendliness to foreigners, as the mountain streams, when they leave their source, seem to seek and unite to themselves waters from other springs, till they reach the ocean together.' All must speak the language of the country they were placed in; he renewed this injunction shortly before his death. Mirone remarks, that in the Roman college no tongue but the Italian was ever heard, though they had natives of sixteen countries. He forbade any talk of the public events of distant places, as of wars, battles, and such-like, lest this should excite feelings unfavourable to a perfect union.¹

¹ 'This seemed wonderful on our being first established, and is in fact a kind of continued miracle in our Society, in which there is so great harmony and close union between men of many nations, differing in birth, education,

If he perceived a novice inclined to a particular fault, he bade him preach and exhort others to the opposite virtue. He strove to keep their duties quite within the bounds of their powers and attainments. When Bernard, a Japanese Christian, sent him by Xavier, asked for difficult things to do, Ignatius for a long while would not comply, and then made Bernard promise he would tell him whenever he experienced any distaste or weariness.

Lorenzo Mazzi, a young nobleman of Brescia, revealed to Ignatius that he was tempted to quit the Society. 'If their way of life was too strict for him,' said Ignatius, 'he would not oppose it.' But, first, he entreated this of him—'When you wake this night, stretch yourself out as if you were dead, and think to yourself how you will wish to have lived when that time really draws near.' The young man remained and became a good priest.

Indul-
gence of
Ignatius.

Another, a German novice, had the same impatience of restraint. Ignatius desired only that he would remain four days longer, but at perfect liberty, and not obliged to observe the rules of the house. The novice agreed to this, and he continued in the Society.

Once, at midnight, Ignatius sent for a young novice who was so displeased at a duty imposed on him that he could not rest, and bethought himself of returning to the world. Ignatius asked him what advice he would give to anyone afflicted by such and such temptations, and so ingeniously depicted the young man's mind to himself, suggesting fit remedies, that he, touched and convinced, remained willingly in the house.

The son of a Jew, whom Ignatius had converted and befriended greatly, was wearied of the novitiate, and announced that he would leave it. Ignatius sent for him, and said only, 'Isaac, stay with us.' The charm of his countenance and voice acted, as it often did, and the novice stayed.

minds, and tempers; so that, whatever diversity nature had made between them, grace gives them a perfect conformity of inclinations and will. In this the mercy of God appears so great, that we not only enjoy this blessing, but it spreads its sweet odour abroad also, to the extreme edification of our neighbour, and the greater glory of God. Whence many, when asked why they wish to enter the Society, say, that it is the union they see between the brethren which moves them most.'—A. RODRIGUEZ.

But in one instance, a young man, after being withheld for a time from deserting the Society, at last quitted it. He was sent out to beg alms in the streets, a kinsman met him, remonstrated on what he thought a disgrace to their family, and promised to procure him a benefice if he would take orders as a secular priest. When Ignatius saw him disturbed and unhappy, he never suffered him to be left alone, gave him a companion in his cell, and made him promise that he would rouse this friend and speak to him as often as he lay awake himself. And he begged the discontented novice to postpone his departure for a fortnight, during which time he was released from all rule. Then, as he still wished to go, the Fathers who were in the house were summoned to speak to him, and hear his reasons for leaving them; for Ignatius thought that perhaps God might put words into the lips of some present that would alter his purpose. And this actually happened. But some while after the young man relapsed, and went away.

Ignatius did not always attempt to retain unwilling novices; on the contrary, he was sometimes more inflexible than his brethren quite approved in the matter of expulsions. He once dismissed nine at a time, and soon afterwards ten more, seemingly because he thought they wanted the spirit of the order, and might be better trained and made serviceable elsewhere, rather than for any grave offence. One of these had done no more than give a blow to a companion in sport. Ignatius was observed to appear relieved and cheerful when he had done this; doubtless he had long seen the riddance must one day come. And in a letter he wrote late in life to Rodriguez, he enjoins an unsparing conduct in this respect, choosing that no insubordination should be passed over, or any wilful offender suffered to remain.

Expul-
sions.

Many times when Ignatius saw that a young mind was struggling against temptations, he renewed the humble artifice which had been successful in Paris, and related how he himself had been tried, and often defeated, before the final victory over Satan and his own nature was won. Baldovino ab Angelo, a young novice, who had left behind the little son of a dead brother, grieved over the desolate orphan, and was on the point of returning to the world for his sake. Ignatius

spoke to him of his old reluctances to quit his own family, whom he loved; and told him that at one time a picture of the Holy Virgin, in a book he made use of, always recalled to him so vividly the face of his brother Martin's wife, that he was disturbed by it, and pasted paper over the page.¹ He told Baldovino, God would make up to the child fourfold for the kinsman who left him in His keeping; and this so satisfied the young man, that he had no longer any solicitude. He became a learned and pious Father, and the commencement of the college at Naples was entrusted to him.

Ignatius strove always to impress on their minds this precept of the Scripture—'Do *all* to the glory of God,' so that they might understand labour to be an act of worship, and most acceptable to our Lord. An answer to this effect, which Ignatius gave a student who questioned him, is preserved at Rome in his handwriting.

He bids those who are occupied in study 'to exercise themselves in seeking after God's presence in everything, as in conversation, in walking, looking, taking food, hearing, reading, and the like, for it is most true that the Divine Majesty is present in all these things, . . . and this manner of meditation, which discovers God in everything is more easy than that other which elevates the mind to Divine things, . . . and this will prepare you to receive great favours from God. Besides this, students may make frequent offerings to the Lord . . . of their labours and studies, accepting all out of love to Him, proposing to ourselves to do Him pleasure, and serving Him by assisting those for whose life He was pleased to suffer death. Examine yourselves on these two points.'

And with that sagacious and cool judgment, which comes out very remarkably in a character so full of fire and enthusiasm, he bade his sons rather to dread, than to desire or welcome, visions and raptures, which often lift up the soul with pride, and disturb weak minds. He thought there was even a danger in prayer, lest those who gave much time to it should fancy themselves spiritual, and become obstinate and over-fixed in their opinions. The remedy he enjoined

¹ Sentiva risvegliarmi nel cuore mille pensieri del mondo, e una sciocca tenerezza verso i miei parenti e la mia casa.

was, not to pray less, but to strive more for humility, charity, and mortification. He would have them constantly remember, that a humble and true Christian submits his judgment and inclination to those who have received authority from God, and mistrusts the suggestions of self-love. 'Conquer self' was his perpetual injunction, the subject of his discourses in public, his exhortations in conversation.

When he heard Gonsalez say that some one was 'a great man of prayer,' he added, as if correcting him, 'He is a very mortified man.' Nadal entreated him to allot more time to prayer in the rules of his Society. Ignatius said, 'It needs much prayer to vanquish the passions, but when this has been obtained, a quarter of an hour will suffice to unite the soul closely with God; the spirit, unmortified, would hardly attain this in two hours;' and when Nadal insisted, Ignatius was displeased, and even removed him from the place in the Society which he had lately given him.

He had the utmost patience with fiery and daring characters, because he thought they had more merit than others in subduing themselves to a Christian moderation, and would do more and go farther in God's service.

They had two assistant brothers at Rome, of opposite dispositions. Ignatius always encouraged and praised the one who was hasty and choleric; he often said to him, 'Take courage, brother, conquer yourself, and you will have greater merit than ——, who has no difficulty in being tranquil and mild.'

One young man, who could not easily restrain his temper when others irritated him, avoided his companions during the hour of recreation, and went into the garden. Ignatius found him there alone. 'You are wrong,' said he; 'these temptations should be combated, not shunned; solitude can only hide your impatience, not cure it; you will please God more by subduing this irritation than you would by burying yourself in a cavern for a year.'

Even in those who had been long in the Society, he was patient of much imperfection in this point, if he saw a sincere desire to amend. Two Fathers had displeased him; when he reproved them, one burst into angry words, the other kept a sullen and resentful silence. Ignatius dis-

missed the latter from the Society, and retained the culprit whose fault was more open and honest.

Emond Auger, afterwards so illustrious in his work, so remarkable by his escape from death when he had actually mounted the scaffold, was one of the daring and decided tempers which Ignatius liked to cultivate; he told the Fathers Emond had advanced more in piety during the novitiate than two who were admitted at the same time, who had a *natura soave*, and gave no trouble; but Ignatius was strict with him, and once kept him standing all day before the door of the infirmary because he had carelessly left it open, which was a great offence against order and recollectedness.¹

Ignatius was solicitous that the constant work or studies of the young men and frequent hardships should be interrupted by times of recreation. This was always done, and shortly before he died he bought the villa of Sta. Babuna for the purpose of giving country air to the students and novices, at least once a week, sometimes oftener.²

His young kinsman, Antonio Araoz, who followed him to Rome, and there entered the Society, he ordered to retain the garments of velvet and gold worn then by the nobles of Spain and Italy; probably long before the two years were ended, this was a greater mortification than the humblest garb could have been. Andrea Frusis was another who wore his former dress till he had passed through the novitiate; Don Juan Mendoza, Captain of St. Elmo, another. In the same spirit, Ignatius was accustomed at first to use all the ceremonies of common life with men distinguished by any rank, and called them by their titles, till they themselves begged him to desist.

Like Philip Neri, he would tolerate no lack of cleanliness in personal habits, nor in the furniture and keeping of the

¹ Auger, preaching at Valence, and making the utmost efforts against the Huguenots, who were the powerful party there, was seized and imprisoned and condemned to death. When he mounted the scaffold, he asked leave to address the people, and then exhorted them to prepare for their own death with such fervour and humility, that the crowd around, moved with compassion and reverence, demanded his liberation, and he was set free.

² The rooms Ignatius used there are still to be seen. The ruins of the Baths of Caracalla enclose the vineyard on one side.

house. A novice was once reported to him as uncommonly addicted to washing his hands, which appeared, perhaps, an effeminacy to the master; Ignatius bade him observe if the novice showed any vanity in other ways, but not else to find fault.

He took pleasure in seeing the signs of health and youthful vigour among them; he once called to him Benedetto Palmia, who was eating his dinner with high satisfaction, and said, ‘Now, continue to nourish yourself well, and grow strong to serve God and our Society.’ Palmia.

Francis Koster (a Fleming) was much given to laughter, Koster. ‘as it often happens,’ says Mariani, ‘with those who have newly entered into religion.’ Ignatius met him in the street, and said, ‘Francis, I see that you are always laughing’ (the novice bent his eyes on the ground, and awaited a reproof); ‘I am glad of it, and while you are docile and faithful to your rule, I do not think you can be too gay. But remember, you must not be depressed by things that do not please you; I think I see in you talents above the common standard; if they are not available because you want humility, you will be sorrowful. I perceive the air of Rome disagrees with you; I shall send you into Sicily, though, perhaps, you would like Flanders better. Now, if you have preferences, and they are opposed by obedience, this will make you sad. Therefore keep yourself humble, that you may always rejoice.’

Koster had come from Louvain, where the order had obtained great successes under Adrian Adriani; he followed the ‘Spiritual Exercises,’ and then, at the same time with Theodore Canisius, brother of that priest who was already so distinguished, he asked to enter the Society.

A frequent interchange of duties was part of the system of the house. Once Ignatius asked a young novice who was working in the kitchen if he could write him a copy of verses? ‘I can try, father,’ said the young man; and he brought Ignatius some lines addressed to himself, and highly complimentary. Perhaps Ignatius meant a reproof when he said, ‘But these lines describe a saint. Do you really believe I have all these virtues?’ ‘I do not know that,’ answered

the novice, adroitly, 'but I know that you ought to have them.'¹

Loarte.

Ignatius tried always to obtain the confidence of these young ones, encouraged them to communicate to him all that passed in their minds, and never repressed their openness by reproof; that he left for others, or for another opportunity. He frequently desired one of the two Superiors in each college to treat the novice with great tenderness, while the other appeared strict and severe; this was intended to prevent their being discouraged or unhappy, while their virtues or abilities were exercised to the utmost. At Rome he commonly reserved the indulgent character to himself, and left severity to the master of the novices. While Luigi Gonsalez filled this office, Gaspar Loarte, a clever Spaniard, whom the holy Juan d'Avila had induced to enter the Society, was admitted to the novitiate. Ignatius bade Gonsalez try his patience to the utmost; himself meanwhile showing him the most paternal affection. 'I explained to him,' said Gonsalez, 'that our piety is like a beam of wood; we cannot tell whether it be safe to trust to it until we have laid great burdens on it, to test its strength.' 'Alas!' said poor Loarte, 'I see that I must prepare for more austerities.' Gonsalez asked him one day, what he thought of Father Ignatius? 'He is all kindness,' said Loarte; 'he is like a fountain of oil.' 'And what do you think of me?' said Gonsalez. 'You,' answered the novice, 'are like a fountain of vinegar.' Doubtless, the answer was meant and taken as a not discourteous jest, for Ignatius, when he heard of the conversation, was well pleased with it, though he bade Gonsalez be more indulgent for the future.

Sometimes Ignatius invited the novices to come into his own room, where he would give them fruit, peeling it for them himself. He disapproved the custom men have in the south of kissing each other, and forbade any such salutations, except an embrace when they went or returned from a long journey. He reproved an old father who patted the young Jacopo Croci on the head; he was but eleven years old, and seems to have been a favourite in the house. The school-master brought him on holidays to Ignatius to kiss his hand;

¹ Related by Mrs. Parsons.

one day the boy came gaily dressed, with a purple band round his collar. Ignatius pretended not to recognise him, and asked the master where Jacopino was? The boy understood the reproof, and came back again, dressed in his ordinary way; Ignatius, with a grave smile, gave him his hand.

Once during Ignatius' life, a disciple of the Calvinists had nearly obtained admission into the order. He was a young Calabrese, named Michele, who offered himself for the novitiate, and was, in due course of time, allowed to enter on its duties; he was intelligent, assumed an appearance of great devotion, and received the Sacraments frequently. The care of the refectory was his share of the household work, divided by custom among the novices, and his companion was Olivier Manares, to whom he soon began cautiously to impart doubts whether the images on the walls could be venerated without idolatry; he had heard a German doctor quote a text from St. John, 'Beware of images.' Another time, he asked Manares to explain the words 'Salute the brethren who are in Babylon.' Manares answered, 'St. Peter spoke of Rome, which he called Babylon, from its wickedness.' 'The preachers in Germany,' said the novice, 'also supposed that Rome was meant, but with a prophetic allusion to the corruptions of the Papacy.' This put Manares on his guard, and suspecting an accomplished traitor, he drew him out to the expression of his opinions in writing on three points, which he then showed to Ignatius. It was impossible for Ignatius to do other than expel him, and inform Caraffa, the chief inquisitor; the young man was taken and tried. Considering the horror entertained of Germanism at that time, and the aggravation of this attempt to introduce it into a religious order, with what would be called malignant conspiracy—for Melancthon and another were believed to be its authors—it seems a proof of what has been alleged respecting the aversion of the Roman Inquisition to capital punishment, that Michele was only condemned to the galleys for life.

The
Roman
Inquisition.

Another attempt was made soon after, in the same direction. A box of books, containing those of the German controversialists, hidden under a layer of unexceptionable Fathers and manuals of devotion, was sent as a present; Manares

was again the discoverer; the box was left open, but the books had not been touched, when he chanced to examine them, and found, beneath the orthodox layer, those that were really the object of the insidious gift. He brought them to Ignatius, who threw them all into the fire.

A young man of large fortune entered the novitiate; he had a valuable crucifix with the Madonna at the foot of the cross, in which he had much delight. Ignatius left it in his possession, though one of the most stringent rules of the Society forbade property in anything. The novice advanced rapidly in self-renunciation. Ignatius observed this, and said, 'Since our brother has learnt to renounce himself, and has the image of Christ crucified in his heart, we may take it out of his hands.' And the novice gave it up without reluctance.

One night he visited a brother who was strongly tempted to return to the world. His remonstrances touched the young man's conscience, and he threw himself at Ignatius' feet, and offered to perform any act of penance he would impose. Ignatius embraced him and said, 'Half of your penance shall be, that you must never again regret having promised to serve God; the other half I will take upon myself—my pains when I am ill shall go for that.'

Ignatius made another, whose room was disorderly, put all his possessions into a sack and go through the house with it on his shoulder, telling everyone he met of his offence; for Ignatius was displeased if, when he visited the rooms, he did not find the bed neatly made, the nightcap, the shoes, the candlestick, in their proper places, the broom put out of sight, and all the small remainder of each one's possessions well arranged.

Sometimes Ignatius caused a circle to be drawn on the floor round an offender, who was not to leave it without permission, but he might sit down if there was room. He would send a culprit to pray before the blessed sacrament for a certain time, or till he was sent for, in which case he used to add, 'Pray that I may not forget it.'

Some of the penances of the Gesù have an odd facetiousness that reminds one of those grotesque figures the monks used to carve on the columns of their churches. Ignatius

made a novice, whose offence was presumption, stand in the refectory with wings fastened to his shoulders (probably such as had served in the procession of the Corpus Christi), while another admonished him thus—‘Do not attempt to fly till your wings are grown.’ Another time the offender was placed at the lower table in the refectory, while some one, who was doubtless the wit and jester of the house, was charged to ridicule him, and reproach him with having made no greater progress.

A Jew, whom Ignatius had converted, sent his young son to be brought up in the house; the boy on one occasion, being very angry, uttered some malicious wishes against the person who had offended him. Ignatius sent out to buy a live crawfish, tied the child's hands behind him, and fastened the crawfish round his neck, where it nipped him terribly—telling him, ‘it was just he should feel pain, since he had wished it for another.’ The boy lived to become a priest; but he joined the Dominicans, and was afterwards Bishop of Forli. He told this story himself.

Brother Borelli had served with great virtue for many years, but once he owned spontaneously that he had taken out a blessed chaplet from a casket and put another in its place. Ignatius only reproved him, but told him for the next offence he should be expelled.

Father Juan d'Avila had led many besides Loarte to enter the Society, of which he had the highest admiration. He said this was the object he had desired to attain during many years; he thought Ignatius was sent and instructed by Heaven to accomplish an immense work; and compared himself to a child striving to roll a heavy weight from the bottom to the top of a mountain, when a giant comes, and, lifting the burden easily, carries it to the top. Juan d'Avila was an admirable man, and probably it was rather his misfortune than his fault that he was confessor to Philip II., over whom he seems to have had little influence.

Borelli.

Juan
d'Avila.

was again the discoverer; the box was left open, but the books had not been touched, when he chanced to examine them, and found, beneath the orthodox layer, those that were really the object of the insidious gift. He brought them to Ignatius, who threw them all into the fire.

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Jay presented themselves before the Council, who were entirely hostile, and disposed to protect the claim of the Venetian nobles against strangers. Lippomani's brother was present. The poor attire and great humility of the two priests did not at first aid their cause; but when Laynez began to speak, the accomplished auditory perceived immediately that they were listening to an extraordinary man. His reasoning persuaded them, and his eloquence pleased them so much, that when he had ceased speaking and took leave, they all rose up to applaud, and Laynez had gained his cause.

Giovanni
Polanco.
Andrea
Fruste.
Girolamo
Otelli.
Christo-
pher
Mendoza.

Lippomani received the brethren into his own house at Padua, till the transfer of his priory was authorised. Polanco and Frusis, or Fruste, were the first who accepted this hospitality; and soon came Otelli, lately a student at Paris. Mendoza next year brought four or five more, and thus opened the first Jesuit college in Italy.

After the cession of the Maddalena was allowed by the Council of Venice and by the Pope, Ignatius proposed to settle an annuity of 200 crowns on each of the two younger Lippomani; but Andrea would not allow this, and Ignatius then made him perpetual administrator of the college.

Andrea Frusis, already a matured scholar, was admitted into the Society in 1541. He was said to excel in the three dead languages, in mathematics, in medicine, law, music, poetry, and oratory; Ignatius sent him to study theology at Padua, and he remained there two years. Ignatius made him his secretary; then, after many removals, for these seemed part of the original scheme in Ignatius' mind, Frusis helped to establish the College of Messina. Then Lippomani, the friend who had already shown so much generosity to the Society, obtained a college at Venice, and Frusis was made Superior. There, a young Jew named Elia, learned and zealous in his own religion, presented himself to reclaim a brother of his, whom the Jesuits had lately baptized and sheltered. Frusis received Elia courteously, offered him the hospitalities of his house, that he might be under the same roof with his brother; and when Elia, accepting this, arrived in the evening, the fathers proceeded to wash his feet, after their custom. This act of humble

kindness towards one who came to complain and oppose, touched his heart. He was converted, and then set himself to convert others; and his knowledge of eastern languages made him a very useful missionary, chiefly at Cairo and Jerusalem.

When Laynez, bearing Lippomani's gift, went to Padua, 1542. he found Frusis and Polanco already there; both, while they finished their studies, converted their fellow-students. They were yet novices, but they worked with great success. Otelli was one of their most valuable recruits: he became a priest of wonderful activity and usefulness, so zealous that, in after years, Ignatius was forced to abridge his labours, and forbid his preaching for some time. Laynez established and regulated the college, which was much needed at Padua, for the new opinions had spread there, and obtained ready access to the minds of young and inexperienced men. The logic, eloquence, and character of Laynez established his influence over them, as it had over others at Venice. Then he went to Bassano, and was no less successful there in turning back the torrent of public opinion, which had been greatly affected by the neighbourhood of German free-thinkers. At the Church of San Lorenzo, in Damaso, he and his companions gave instructions twice a day for a long time. The noble and learned thronged to hear him preach; wreaths and flowers were often thrown upon him when he descended from the pulpit.

Ignatius had received a gifted and highly useful member into his Society in 1539, Paolo Achille, whom he sent to study 1539. at Paris. He afterwards founded with Lanoy the college of Palermo, and guided it with admirable success. Acting on the Christian principle, that all authority is given for the sake of the subordinates, that it is a hateful usurpation when not beneficial and charitable, he made Fathers as well as novices love his rule; and never, it was said, imposed a penance unless he saw the subject willing to receive it.

In 1540, the Emperor Charles despatched Ortiz to Worms, where another Diet was convened. He asked the Pope and Ignatius to send with him a priest, competent to meet the

exigencies of the times, who should be at once an irreproachable character, an eloquent speaker, and a consummate theologian. They both chose Faber. On October 24 he arrived with the ambassador at Worms—the first Jesuit who entered Germany. In his journey thither, he passed near the town of Villaret, which lay on his way, but he made a circuit to avoid it; like Xavier, he wished to forget that he had relations. It was soon seen that the Lutherans had no real intention of yielding to argument. But Faber discovered greater danger to the Christian faith than could come from its open enemies. His letters to Ignatius of this time convey a fearful picture of the dissolute lives of all classes, beginning with the clergy. On December 27 he writes:—

I wonder there are not twice or three times more heretics than there are, because nothing leads to errors in belief so rapidly as a disordered life. It is not the false interpretations of Scripture, nor the sophistry which the Lutherans introduce into their sermons and disputes, that have caused so many nations to apostatise, and so many towns and provinces to revolt against religion. All the mischief is done by the scandalous lives of the clergy.

Jan. 10.
Joly.

The next month he continues:—

Would there were in this city of Worms only two or three churchmen who were not living openly with women, or guilty of some other notorious crime, and who had a little zeal for the salvation of souls! They might do anything they pleased with this people, who are simple and good; I mean, in the towns where they have not abolished all the laws and practices of religion, nor entirely thrown off the Church of Rome; but that part of the flock which is bound to lead the faithless into the fold, is precisely that which drives Catholics to become Lutherans, by the spectacle of their dissolute lives.

What Faber describes at Worms was the case nearly everywhere. He wanted the help of a few priests who were unimpeachable, but found only one, the dean who exercised the functions of vicar-general and inquisitor. He had been alone, quite unsupported, till Faber came; and was on the point of renouncing the hopeless attempt to restrain the people from rushing, as he said, ‘down the wolf’s throat.’ Faber persuaded him to remain, and Worms was almost regenerated.

Charles V. still hoped to succeed by negotiation. Another Diet was held at Ratisbon, which seemed to open under the happiest auspices; the Emperor then believed that he was strongly interested in obtaining a peace, which would leave him free to carry out his ambitious projects elsewhere. There was among all classes a great appearance of religious earnestness; Faber was in the town, preaching and giving the 'Spiritual Exercises.' The utmost pains had been taken to collect persons least offensive to the Lutheran party; Cardinal Granvelle, and Frederick, Count Palatine, known to favour the Protestants, were to preside. Philip of Hesse, who was there, appeared friendly to Austria; Joachim of Brandenburg declared he was willing 'under conditions' to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy; the Protestant speakers, Pistorius, Bucer, and Melancthon, were the most gentle and amiable of their party, and were known to condemn the ebullitions of Luther. They were again to be encountered by Eck, Pfug, and Gropper, chosen by Charles for their wise moderation; and Paul sent, as his legate, Gaspar Contarini, the prelate of all Italy best fitted to understand and reconcile the tempers and interests of both sides. He was well known to be as earnest for reform within the Church, as for the return of those who had left it. The authority of his talents, the dignity of his character, gave him a weight eminently serviceable to the Papal cause; and on one great point he would have found no insuperable difficulty—the separation of the spiritual from the secular power in the bishops of Germany, who were far more princes than priests; many Catholics desired to see this.

Contarini had received only a limited authority from the Pope; but his first step was against the instructions Paul had explicitly given: he placed the Papal Supremacy last instead of first on the list of questions to be discussed. He consulted with Morone, Bishop of Modena, who was afterwards obnoxious to Paul IV. for his supposed Lutheranism, and Tomaso di Modena, master of the sacred palace, on every point. The assembly at last got safely over the terrible tumbling-blocks of original sin, redemption, and justification, in spite of Eck, whose love of dispute and word-splitting was almost unappeasable. Bucer went the length

April 5,
1541.

of saying, 'that in the points agreed on, all was included that was necessary to a pious, upright, and holy life before God and man.'

17th May.

When the Emperor saw these symptoms of reconciliation, he declared he would not leave Ratisbon till all was adjusted; Reginald Pole wrote to Contarini, 'that these consenting opinions had delighted him as with a celestial harmony, because he foresaw the coming of peace and union;' he wished his friend joy, and he thanked God.

But, before long, these pleasant prospects disappeared. Neither Luther, who had more than Papal authority with his own party, nor Paul himself were satisfied; Charles, impatient now to hasten to Algiers, and wanting peace at any price, resolved secretly to promise the Lutherans a general council in their own country, or if that were not attainable, a national council at least. Contarini guessed this intention, and imparted it to Paul III., who immediately announced that he would convoke a general council without delay. Charles caused a report of their proceedings to be presented to the Diet; but Contarini gave his opinion that it should be referred unconditionally to the Pope. The Catholic princes sided with the legate, the towns with the Emperor; the Protestants were exceedingly discontented, and declared they would not attend any council presided over by the Pope or his legates. There was now, more than ever, an opposition at work which baffled argument or intercession; the Archbishop of Lunden and others had all along represented that it was for the Emperor's advantage to keep Germany divided, so that it might be always under his control, and these were now clamorous in warnings which had much effect on his mind.

Francis I. took exactly the contrary view, and feared Charles becoming too strong if the insurgents were satisfied and the country at peace. He affected great indignation at the concessions granted by the legate, and 'became every day,' said the Pope's ambassador at Paris, 'more earnest about Church matters,' while at the same time Granvelle swore to Contarini that Francis had sent letters to the Protestant chiefs, exhorting them to persevere, and desiring to be further informed concerning their doctrines, which he was

not unwilling to examine. He even invited Melancthon to Paris, but Cardinal Tournon persuaded him to forbid his coming after all.

Charles at last closed the Diet by deciding that everything should remain as before, until the promised council was summoned, except that the reforms agreed on among the clergy were to be carried out immediately. None were meanwhile to be disquieted on account of their religion.

The request urged upon the Pope for a general council was not accompanied by a distinct admission that he alone had a right to convene it, the Emperor even tacitly appeared to think he might do this himself. This silence, with the example of Henry VIII. of England before him, was enough to alarm the jealousy of Paul and his stern adviser Caraffa. The Duke of Bavaria and the Elector of Mayentz declared against any reconciliation not preceded by submission on the Lutheran side; and at last, 'the devil,' according to Beccatelli Contarini's secretary, 'contrived to sow tares among the divines themselves.' Contarini had to return to Italy, defeated, disappointed, and, what was worst of all, misrepresented and disapproved at the Papal Court.

Faber, when he saw that the Diet was powerless, set himself to work independently. On April 5 he wrote:—

It is an insupportable cross to me to see so large a part of Europe, formerly the glory of our religion, now falling away, and that neither all the Emperor's power, nor the skill and the talents of his ministers, nor all the great men assembled at this Diet, can devise or do anything to hinder the ruin of the faith.

Faber, nevertheless, did something; he preached, he gave the 'Spiritual Exercises' to bishops, electors, vicars-general, ambassadors, theologians, and doctors. The son of Charles, Duke of Savoy, whose compatriot and subject Faber was, placed himself under his direction. So great were the numbers that came to him, that he had hardly time to sleep. The Duke de Najera, kinsman and early friend of Ignatius, was among them; Don Sancho of Castille; Juan, son of the last King of Grenada; Pescaire, Ferdinand de la Cerda, listened to him day after day. From Ratisbon Faber removed to Nuremberg; there he received orders from Ignatius to proceed at once into Spain. Ortiz was despatched thither

by Charles V., and Faber was to accompany him. He did not leave Nuremberg without making a considerable impression there; the people, as usual, listened willingly, and it was said that none who had once been impressed by Faber's counsels were ever known to relapse into a vicious life, or any errors of heresy.

But though much had been done in individual cases, the Senate of Ratisbon was still tolerant of the new doctrines, and two Protestant churches were open there. When Faber was sent to Spain, the Pope ordered Le Jay, then at Bologna, and Bobadilla, to replace him. These found, as Faber had done, that the bishop could not control his people; and it was even said that the dean and clergy shared the aberrations of their fellow-citizens—at least they looked supinely on; and as Ratisbon was a free city, subject to the Emperor alone, who, with seeming inconsistency, was as tolerant in Germany as he was rigorous in Spain, and even sought to propitiate his Protestant subjects, by holding out hopes that he might at last come round to their opinions, there was no assistance to be looked for from the civil power.

Charles succeeded no better against the Turks than with the heretics of Germany. He had hardly landed in Africa before a violent storm came on, which almost destroyed his fleet, dispersed his army, and drove him, disappointed and helpless, to hide himself in Spain. Barbarossa remained master of the Mediterranean, and continued to ravage the Italian coasts.

542.

At Ratisbon the sermons of Le Jay attracted crowds; Lutherans even came to hear him expound the epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians; they would not let him suspend these instructions during harvest time, as was the custom. But Le Jay thought it right to address himself principally to reform the clergy, and they did not choose to be reformed; they were angry that a Frenchman should intrude his advice upon them; a sort of unholy sympathy also with the Protestants united them in hatred against him. When the people threatened to throw him into the Danube, 'What does it matter to me,' said he, 'whether I enter heaven from earth or water?'

Bobadilla came later. He had been occupied in the diocese of Viterbo, with Cardinal Pole; and went thence to Innspruck, where Ferdinand, King of the Romans, then resided. Fer-

dinand took him to Vienna; there more discussions and conferences were to be held; Bobadilla preached in Italian and in Latin, and disputed upon heresy before Ferdinand. Thence he followed the Nuncio, Bishop of Caserta, to Nuremberg, at that time the seat of another of those Diets so often held in Luther's lifetime in the vain hope of reconciling the irreconcilable, and inducing a licentious people to lay down the unholy liberty they had just began to enjoy. Bobadilla traversed the city, visited the churches, and almost won the only Lutheran minister there, a worthy man, willing to listen, and one whom he had much regard for.

Faber too was there, but only for a short time, and the session was not long. After it, the German bishops all 1543. wished to obtain the aid of Bobadilla's eloquence. He himself thought it right to comply with the desire of Ferdinand, and return to Vienna, where he strove, not unsuccessfully, to arouse and convert a torpid and demoralised priesthood and an unbelieving people. Ferdinand desired him to visit and reform the monasteries in his dominions; but Bobadilla, ever observant of the holy obedience which was the life of his order, answered that he could not do this without the consent of the bishops. And it does not appear that this mission was ever carried out.

The King named him his theologian for the Diet which was to assemble at Ratisbon in 1543. There he found Le Jay. Much was to be done for which both would not suffice. Bobadilla explained in Latin his work, 'De Christiana Conscientia,' and strangers of all nations crowded along with the Germans to hear him.

But, as usual, along with success came persecution. When the indulgences for the jubilee of 1550, accorded by the Pope, were announced by the bishop, the hostile party renewed their attacks on him. Le Jay, recurring to those defences customary with the Jesuits, redoubled his diligence and his charity, and applied himself to the study of German, 'lingua aspera,' that he might better reach these wilful people. One of the most prominent Lutherans at that time in Ratisbon was a physician, who had much urged on the Senate the allowing communion in both kinds; another, a Franciscan friar, who had married a comely wife, and now

taught that marriage ought to be allowed to priests. On these two Le Jay made no impression. Both met a violent death, which many looked on as a Divine judgment.

After two years passed at Ratisbon, Le Jay, upon the removal of the Nuncio to Nuremberg, was requested to accompany him ; but he was almost immediately ordered by Ignatius to go to Ingoldstadt.

Here the sovereign, Wilhelm, Duke of Bavaria, was a fervent Catholic. He had forbidden his subjects to go to Ratisbon, where they might hear free discussions of the new doctrines, and when told that this was impolitic, he answered, 'I would rather lose my dukedom than give up one of my people to Luther.' At Ingoldstadt, therefore, Le Jay met with aid and encouragement ; Eschius had preceded him. Otto Truchsez, Bishop of Augsburg, afterwards cardinal, invited Le Jay to Dillingen, where they worked together, and great good was done.

A provincial assembly was at this time held at Salzburg, in which it was intended to attempt a compromise that should satisfy both parties. Le Jay, whose character seems to have been one not disposed to compromise at any time, was unwilling to go thither, but the Duke's brother, who was Archbishop of Salzburg, earnestly desired his assistance ; and gratitude, perhaps, induced Le Jay to give it. The bishops consulted him before each session, and he, at their desire, drew up a summary of the two points proposed by the Emperor for their discussion. He proved, first, that the prelates could not allow a lay assembly to decide on any religious question, and secondly, that even if the Protestants admitted every Catholic dogma, they would still be tainted with heresy, as long as they refused to recognise the authority of the Pope in matters of faith. The bishops, in accordance with this opinion, rejected the proposal of the Lutherans to call a national council, and desired Le Jay to write to Rome, and urge Paul to hasten the convocation of a general council, to which all the prelates and theologians of the time should be invited. This Ignatius himself earnestly wished, and all his company entreated the Pope to summon the solemn assembly with the least possible delay.

Francisco Vanucci, chief almoner to Paul III., Lorenzo di Joly. Castello, and Giacomo da Crescenzi, a Roman of high birth, are remembered among the friends who were most ready to advise and aid Ignatius in the works he projected; who discussed with him the steps he should take, the alms he might hope for, the cardinals whose protection he should ask, the persons who should be associated with him, according to the circumstances. Ignatius wanted a refuge for women who wished to leave a bad course of life; he created the House of St. Martha, where, without taking vows, all who sought a maintenance and protection were received; in four years, 300 had been admitted. Many virtuous women then wished to join them, and they formed a community, where the rule was strictly preserved. Much opposition was encountered at first, for all the worst men and women in Rome were against the asylum; for several months they assembled during the evenings in the front of it, breaking the windows, with horrible language and outcries. Ignatius tried every means to induce these wretched women to repent, sought them in their places of resort, and led them openly to his refuge, through the streets of Rome. When some one represented to him that the contrition of such women was not to be depended on, he said, 'If I can prevent even one sin against God, I think it is worth all the trouble I can take.' In this work he was assisted by some noble matrons, who occasionally received the poor penitents into their houses; one of these was Donna Eleanora Osorio, the wife of Juan de Vega, ambassador at Rome for Charles V.

When at first funds were deficient, Ignatius took all the expenses on himself. Just then, some relics of ancient Rome were discovered on the ground belonging to the Jesuits' house, in front of the church, where new constructions were required—sculptured reliefs and statues—which Codace sold for 100 ducats; with this sum he bought a piece of ground, others offered contributions, and in February 1542, the asylum was ready for the poor inmates, and the keys were delivered to the charge of three noble patrons. It was to be administered by a confraternity calling itself 'Di Sta. Maria della Grazia.' By the rules of the house no married woman could go out except to return to her husband; nor unmarried,

unless to become a nun, or for some other permanent state. Cardinal Carpi was their protector, and Father Diego d'Eguia their confessor, who resided there.¹

The Jews' House began through the compassion Ignatius felt for some converts who had been expelled from their families, and whom he took to live with him, till the number became inconvenient. He also procured that the synagogues should support those who desired Christian instruction; for many, converted to the truth by the public teaching of the new company, were withheld by the dread of poverty from declaring themselves Christians. Ignatius received into his house all who desired a refuge there; and at last procured a foundation for them at San Giovanni di Mercato, with the privilege from the Pope of retaining all their lawfully gained property: that part which they had acquired by usury was to be restored if possible, if otherwise to be employed in some authorised manner for their own benefit.

Ignatius began now to find the favour that attends the benefactors of the people. When he passed through the streets they pressed to see him; when he mounted the steps of the Piazza Altieri, in front of the Gesù, or the Old Exchange, they thronged to hear. He allowed all to speak to him. Filippo Aupolino believed that hardly one person had ever left him without the desire to lead a Christian life. He procured from the liberality of the Romans an orphanage for young boys, another for girls, and an asylum for young girls who needed protection. These still exist under the care of the Frati Somaschi.

Father Eleutero Pontano, who knew Ignatius long and intimately during these latter years of his life, gives this remarkable description of him: 'That his aspect seemed to make all better who looked on him; inspired in all such a feeling of humility, and so awed all meanness and guilt, that no one with an evil conscience would have ventured into his presence, or looked him in the face.' For in his countenance was a sort of sanctity that, even when he was an aged man, infirm and wasted by mortification and sickness,

¹ A departure from Ignatius' rule of not allowing his companions to become confessors to nuns or confraternities of women, of which, I think, there is no other instance.

appeared supernatural, and as if bearing a message from Heaven to repenting sinners. His charity was so tender that, however depraved any might be, Ignatius would always find something to love in them; if there was nothing else, he loved the blood of Christ shed for them, and the image of God in which they were created.

His open-air sermons were so successful, that even his enemies did not find fault with them. Palmia and Ribadeneira, not yet in priests' orders, preached at the same places every week.

Faber, by order of the Pope, attended Ortiz into Spain. Orlandini relates that, on this journey, Faber and Ortiz, with his escort, were taken prisoners by the French (he does not name the place), and thrown into the cells of a fortress, where immediately Faber sought ways of doing good, and found them. For he began to address the commanding officer, and then their gaolers, with pious lessons and exhortations, as if they had come to that place by a friendly invitation, not as captives; and the commander, touched by a proceeding that must have astonished him greatly, spoke much with Faber, desired to make his peace with God, and confessed the sins of a life he intended henceforward to reform. He dismissed the whole party after seven days, and took leave of Ortiz and Faber as if they were valued and much-honoured guests, to whom he had shown a ready hospitality, rather than as captives. Faber visited Madrid, Saragossa, Medina, Siguença, and Alcalá; and everywhere found some of his company and traces of Father Antonio's work. Faber gave them new energy, and went on teaching, consoling, and catechising the rich and poor. But he was not long allowed to remain in the Peninsula. Paul III. wanted his services again in Germany. At Ocaña he was presented to the daughters of the Emperor, Mary and Joanna—the latter was soon after affianced to Don John of Portugal. They became greatly attached to him. Two of their chaplains, Arragon and Alphonsus, listened with delight to him; and when he asked of God that some companions might be given him for his journey homewards, these two offered to

Juan
Arragon.
Alvarez
Alphonsus.

travel with him, and afterwards became members of the Society.

Faber had a particular devotion to the angels; and when he entered a town or province, he asked the especial aid of its guardian angels and patron saints. He taught or preached every evening in the churches, or the street, or the highway—in private, if not in public. For he frequently said, that ‘the children of Ignatius should leave the impress of sanctity wherever they passed, as their sign and token, in visits, in familiar talk, in grave discussions, in travelling, and even in the inns where they chanced to rest. For this neither learning nor great gifts are necessary; only within, the love of God, and without, humility and discretion.’

Faber’s journey back to Germany from Spain occupied three months, during which he and his friends, the Spanish chaplains, narrowly escaped robbers on the borders of Spain, imprisonment in France, the soldiers of Suabia, and the Lutherans when they reached Germany. But they arrived safe at Spire in October 1542.

Faber first began his work among the clergy, whose laxity had been severely admonished with more harm than good, by their bishop. Faber won their confidence by the humility and charity which flowed from his heart into all his words and acts; his talents and his excellent judgment did the rest. The clergy were persuaded or convinced, and nearly all returned to the duties of their clerical life.

Faber was ordered to proceed to Mayentz, where the Archbishop Albert, Cardinal of Brandenburg, greatly wanted him. Mayentz, like most of the German towns at that time, was agitated with all the distractions of religious quarrels, an irregular clergy, and a wavering and divided people. The archbishop was worthy, but powerless till Faber came; then, enforcing by his authority the advice which the eloquence of Faber made acceptable to almost all, he restored peace and faith.

Cardinal Morone had agreed on behalf of the Pope to the demand for a general council. Six places of meeting were discussed, and the choice fell upon Trent. As usual, the Protestants were dissatisfied; but it did not matter, for when the

legates presented themselves in November 1542, war had already broken out between Charles and Francis, and discussions were now useless. The murder of the two ambassadors of Francis, near Casal, by Del Guasto, one of the worst actions attributed to Charles V., had exasperated the French King to fury. And the Pope, when he went to Bologna, heard that the ships of Barbarossa, in the west, were again ravaging the Italian shores; he had taken Nice, and laid up his fleet that winter in the harbour of Toulon.

Nov. 22.

Rincon and
Tregox.

At Mayentz, in January 1543, Faber publicly expounded the Holy Scriptures. This attracted persons from all the Rhenish provinces, among whom was Peter Canisius, a native of Nimeguen, not yet twenty-four years old, but already distinguished at the University of Cologne, where he studied under the famous Eschius. He had heard in early youth his holy kinswoman's prophecy of the greatness of the company of Jesus; and the reputation of Faber brought him now to Mayentz, where he was as much impressed by Faber's character as by his genius. 'Never,' said he, 'have I known or listened to a more learned man, or one of more eminent virtue—if, indeed, he be a man, and not rather an angel from heaven.'

Born
May 8,
1521.

Canisius was born at Nimeguen in the year of Pamplona. His father had great possessions.¹ While Canisius was with Faber at Cologne, a mesage from home suddenly summoned him to Nimeguen. The old man recognised his son and died. Peter was overwhelmed by distress, for his father had led a worldly, though an honourable life. But that night a Divine message answered his prayers. It was revealed to him that his father and mother were saved. In the fervour of his thankfulness, he distributed his large inheritance among the poor, and then returned to Cologne. On his journey he met three young men going, like himself, to Cologne; in those days travellers were glad of protection, and they went on together. He spoke to them so well on the subject of salvation through Christ, that two of them gave up all to worship Him in the cloisters of the Chartreux,

¹ He was governor to the sons of René and Philippine of Gueldres, and was sometimes employed by the Duke in embassies.

and the other entered the novitiate under Faber. A few years later, Canisius had the happiness of seeing his younger brother Theodoric follow in his steps, and join the Society of Jesus.

Perhaps it was soon after this acquisition that Faber wrote to Laynez:—‘I cannot say, brother Diego, the favours which God has bestowed on me since we parted at Piacenza. He has healed all my iniquities, and effaced my sins. I entreat you also to bless and praise Him for me, your brother, and for all the Society.’ He expressed to Ignatius his astonishment, and almost alarm, at his success.

At Mayentz, Faber learned that the proceedings of the Archbishop of Cologne alarmed the faithful there; he was suspected of heresy. Hermann,¹ who was greatly respected and beloved by the laity of his electorate, desired earnestly to follow the injunctions of Charles V., and reform all sorts of men, beginning with the clergy of the diocese; and he promulgated admirable decrees, by which the lives of all might be regulated. These decrees were drawn up at his desire by Gropper, who was archdeacon of his cathedral, eminent for his learning and abilities, exemplary in his life, and so scrupulous in keeping womankind at a distance, that when, one morning, on his return from matins, he found a kammerfrau in his room, who had been making his bed, he tore off the bedclothes and mattress, and threw all out of the window, thinking them profaned by the feminine touch. He was willing to aid the conscientious efforts of Hermann, but not entirely successful; and Hermann summoned Bucer, whose reputation for earnest piety stood high in that part of Germany. He said himself that he wished to use Bucer’s moral influence only, not to bring his doctrines into favour—an absurd idea, yet possibly sincerely intended by the archbishop, who was simple-minded, and easily led by an appearance of zeal for religion and a virtuous life. But the arrival of Bucer was most alarming to some. Tyndal had been recently printing his new translation of the Bible in the town, and novelties of any sort inspired terror there.

The Catholics of the electorate entreated Faber to come to

¹ ‘Prince de bonnes mœurs, d’esprit doux et paisible, très-charitable envers les pauvres, et fort zélé pour la foy catholique,’ says Maimbourg.

their assistance. He obtained the Cardinal's permission; for Albert had a high opinion of the efficacy of Faber and the Jesuits, thinking the Society, as by Divine guidance, reserved for those times, which were so troubled and hard to deal with.¹ He wished Faber to accept a valuable silver cup from him, which Faber refused. When he went to take leave, the Cardinal threw into the breviary-case, which he wore at his girdle, a hundred golden florins: this Faber could not respectfully return, but he would keep none for himself; so he divided it among the poor of Mayentz and the scholars of Louvain, who were in great need.

When Faber arrived at Cologne, he found that the evil had attained a great height. Hermann, however, listened to him willingly, and promised to adhere to Rome. Faber, not confident in his own power of doing good, consulted Poggio, the nuncio residing at Bonn; and Poggio bade him remain at Cologne. But the Emperor had now affianced his son Philip to Maria, daughter of King Joam, of Portugal, and wished that Faber and another of the company should go with the young prince into Castille. Ignatius ordered him to set out. On his way he met, at Louvain, Domenech and his seven companions, the Spanish students, whom the war between France and Spain had forced to leave Paris. They were lodged at Louvain by Cornelius Vishaven; he, decided by the example of Canisius, resolved to join the Society.

Giovanni
Poggio.

Faber's journey brought on a fever, which confined him to his bed, yet he had energy enough to assist Strada in his attempt to convert the Louvainese. He caused the men whose hearts Strada had touched to be brought to his bedside, and there encouraged and instructed them in the ways of perfection. Twenty-one youths of the best families joined the Institute, among whom were Capella and Olivier Manares, whose name we afterwards meet often, not always pleasantly. Faber recovered, but for the time the Spanish journey was deferred. In January 1544 he departed from Louvain, Jan. 21. passed through Liege and Maestricht, preaching everywhere, and arrived at Cologne, where his short absence had left the field open to the Lutherans, who had regained the ear of the

¹ Ut societatem sibi videri diceret, prope divinitus, usque ad ea tempora tam difficilia, tamque aspera, reservatam.

archbishop. Bucer, Pistorius, and Melancthon, remembered to this day at Cologne, were allowed to preach there. Faber daily held public conferences with them, and his arguments had such weight with the citizens, that some thousands of them petitioned the Emperor to banish Bucer and the rest. This was granted; but first Faber held with them a solemn public disputation, which ended as such things commonly do, by making their differences wider than before. A letter from Cologne, written by Faber to Laynez on the way of proceeding with Lutherans, is highly characteristic.

‘All who desire to do them good,’ he says, ‘should show them the greatest charity, love them truly, and disperse all prejudices that might lower us in their esteem. We should seek their good-will and confidence by a friendly intercourse, conversing of the matters on which we are agreed, and shunning altercation. We should teach them first what they ought to practise, then what they ought to believe; not, as was the custom of the early Church in those times, when men’s minds were first of all to receive the faith which comes from hearing, and then be led by degrees to the practice of good works. Therefore we should endeavour to win them from evil ways, before we attack their evil doctrine. If Luther himself could be brought to a virtuous life, it would be easy to draw him back into the true Church.’

The mildness of Faber touched his opponents, though they were so many, ‘that, but for him,’ says Orlandini, ‘Cologne would have been wholly lost.’ Ultimately the archbishop was deposed and all Protestant teachers banished. The learning of Hermann was small. It was reported that Charles V. had said of him, ‘he was so ignorant he could not even say mass’—a deficiency very improbable, in one who was a correspondent of Sadolet.¹ But he could not resist the arguments of the new teachers, when his friends the Jesuits were no longer at hand; but besides this, and above all, he saw the moral delinquencies around him among the clergy, and the shortcomings of his own chapter at Cologne, which he tried in vain to reform. It was this, probably, that caused his deposition; the canons represented him to the

¹ Charles told the Landgrave of Hesse he had heard him say mass twice, and he could not even read the Introit.

Pope as a heretic, because he was scandalized by their worldly life. He submitted to his sentence without remonstrance, and retired into his county of Weiden. But the excommunication of Paul III. which followed seems to have struck him to the heart, and he did not long survive. 1552.

Although the Jesuits had been so successful in Flanders, their house at Louvain had received no formal establishment, perhaps partly in consequence of that success. Faber, upon his return thither from Cologne, and in accordance with instructions from Ignatius, detained the students who had not yet sailed for Portugal, in order that the townspeople should not be agitated; nevertheless, they were violent against Vishaven, who had replaced Faber, and many parents and professors forbade the young men to receive his instructions. Adriani, Vink, and others of distinguished talent persisted, and became part of the new community. Faber collected the young men, before scattered over the town, under one roof, and when he sailed from Antwerp, left them to Cornelius Vishaven, who, when called to Rome, was replaced by Gillon, and then by Adriani, a man whose sanctity of life and charming manners won all hearts. The position of the company at Louvain was disadvantageous, and often highly perplexing; the secular clergy were jealous, and a large number of secret Lutherans hostile; their work in preaching and private exhortations was frequently impeded, although Adriani had a high reputation and much influence. Ruard Tapper, chancellor of the university, and the Bishop of Liessies,¹ advised him to petition Mary, sister of Charles, Queen of Hungary, and Regent of the Low Countries, to authorise the establishment of the company in her domains; but a contrary influence interposed, and she would not accede to the request. Tapper, by desire of Ignatius, received in 1551 the solemn vows of Adriani, and on this occasion he pronounced an eloquent eulogy on the new order, which had a great effect on the people of Louvain. It was as usual regarded with suspicion or envy by many of the clergy, and some even made their parishioners take an oath

¹ Louis de Blois.

that they would never enter the confessional of a Jesuit. All sorts of abuses were attributed to them, and the Faculty of Theology caused an examination to be made. The offences were proved, but the offenders were not the Jesuits, but their opponents themselves.

While Faber stayed at Cologne, he received the utmost kindness from the Carthusian monks there. They were grateful to the new order for what it was doing and attempting for the Catholic Church. Their prior, Gerard Hamontan, along with several others, went through the 'Spiritual Exercises' with Faber, and, after his departure, continued their intercourse by letter. The friendship of Prior Gerard lasted as long as Ignatius lived, and often showed itself in substantial benefits.

July 12,
1544.

Faber left Cologne in July; Canisius and Gropper remained to confirm and spread what he had begun. A college was afterwards established—Leonard Kessel was placed at its head.

The Diet, presided over by the Emperor, still sat at Worms. Like the assemblies of Spire, Ratisbon, and Nuremberg, it produced nothing, and promised nothing for the future. Both parties, far from approximating, had only learned to measure the distance which separated them, and the impossibility of any concessions on the part of Rome, that would satisfy the secret exigencies and the avowed scruples of the Lutherans. As for Luther himself, the slightest hope of reconciliation with him had long passed away.

Le Jay, who was all for peremptory suppression, seems to have inclined to the opinion of Gregory of Nazianzen, 'that heresies are never subdued by forbearance.' He argued with Charles V., but Charles was not at all disposed to run the risk of losing that large part of his dominions which the Protestant princes might lead into a successful revolt, if their religious dissensions were too absolutely suppressed. He estimated clearly the different natures of his Spanish and German subjects: he saw that in the Peninsula the fervent piety of the people was always ready to assist the magistrates, who had only to contend with a small intermediate class—dreamers and speculators, learned men, and a con-

siderable portion of the monastic clergy, who in their leisure and retirement were well pleased to find a new field of thought and examination opened to them and new questions to study. In Germany, on the contrary, the opinions of the Protestant teachers had sunk deep and widely into the national mind; they had not at all driven out the old faith over the larger portion of the land, but they had stirred up most men to examine and consider. And if Charles had been sincere we might, perhaps, have respected his opinion, that it was wise to allow them time and peace, so that this investigation might be made with that cool and clear judgment which would, he thought, keep them faithful to Rome.

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the bishops, and Le Jay constantly urged active measures; the disturbances of Cologne, and the secession of the Elector-Archbishop, disposed the Emperor to follow their advice, but he acted tardily and with much precaution.

The Jesuits left in Cologne by Faber were obnoxious to a large part of the people, who demanded their expulsion; and the magistrates closed their house, on the pretence that new establishments were by law prohibited. The Jesuits dispersed, but they still remained in the town, the Carthusians hospitably sheltering some of them, the rest living on alms; after awhile, other influences prevailing, they were allowed to return to their house, and Archdeacon Gropper assembled the clergy and university, and it was resolved that Canisius should go, in the name of the Elector of Cologne, to the Emperor and Bishop of Liege and petition both to assist in repressing the active intolerance of the Protestant party. Canisius went first to Liege; its bishop was George, uncle of Charles V.—he promised his personal aid, and his mediation with the Emperor. Strengthened by this adhesion, Canisius proceeded to the Imperial camp at Worms, where Charles heard him favourably, admired the adroitness of an emissary not yet twenty-five years old, and promised to protect the Catholics. Some months later, Charles joined with the Pope in formally deposing Hermann; and his dignity of Elector-Archbishop was given to Adolph de Schaumbourg. 1543-4.

1512.

GENELLI.

The year 1542 opened fortunately for Ignatius; it procured him an opportunity of mediating between King Joam III. of Portugal and the Pope, to the advantage of both.

Michel da Silva, who had been ambassador from Portugal to the three last Popes, was treated by the Court, according to all appearance, with the utmost confidence;¹ and his father, Diego da Silva, had been governor to King Emmanuel; yet, for some unknown reason, Paul III. did not consult the King when he made Michel bishop of Viseux—a discourtesy which Joam greatly resented. The Bishop left Lisbon secretly, and went to Rome. Joam, indignant at this, sequestered his revenues, while the Pope made him a cardinal. Upon this the two Sovereigns exchanged angry representations, and both were so much incensed that it was impossible to foresee how the affair would end.

Loyola was under obligations to both parties, either of whom might do great injury to his rising company; he had also much affection for King Joam. The Pope complained to him, and he proposed to his Holiness to give, for peace sake, the bishopric of Viseux to Cardinal Farnese, if the Cardinal would bind himself to make over its revenues to Michel, the actual possessor, for his life. This appeared a concession to the King's dignity that would cost nothing to the other party. Paul therefore agreed, and charged Ignatius to make the proposition; whereupon he wrote to the Provincial at Lisbon, Simon Rodriguez, a letter which it was intended the King should see, and in which a note was enclosed charging Rodriguez to make the compromise acceptable to his Majesty. The intervention of Ignatius was successful. Joam not only agreed that Michel should continue to receive the revenues of the bishopric, but made him proto-notary of the kingdom, and the Pope granted considerable privileges to the Church in Portugal. After the death of the illustrious Gasper Contarini, who was Papal legate in Spain, Michel was sent to the Court of Charles, in his place.

¹ He was of the house of Portalegre.

It was remarked at Rome by the Fathers in their visits of charity, that many sick persons would not send for a priest, or think in any way for the good of their souls, until their bodies were greatly afflicted. Innocent III., in 1215, had forbidden all physicians to attend when the illness was dangerous, until the patient had been visited by a priest and made confession; but this law had gradually fallen into disuse. Ignatius resolved to revive it. He began first by personal and private exhortations, and then appealed to legal interference; this brought on the Society much ill-will from the physicians, who found their visits less in demand when the priest must come first. Paul III. was not at this time at Rome. He had left it for Busetto, where he was to meet the Emperor Charles V. They parted in discontent, Paul going to Bologna, and Charles to the Netherlands. 1543.

Ignatius appealed in the Pope's absence to his legate, Cardinal Carpi, and sent him a petition along with a theological opinion, refuting the objections of the physicians. In this he said:—

Many die without the help of religion, either not confessing at all or imperfectly. They ought to be warned to do it as soon as the malady begins to seem dangerous, so that they may not wait till they have not the strength necessary for a sufficient confession, or for any at all; and then the urging it may hasten their death. These evils would be avoided if they confessed at the beginning, for this not only saves the soul, but gives relief to the body, and much contributes to its recovery. And this has been your Eminence's motive in restoring, as you have done, the observance of the decree of Lateran, with this relaxation, that the physicians may visit once or twice, but not oftener, persons who have not confessed. In spite of this concession, many physicians have done all they could to oppose this holy intention, while some upheld it. They who oppose pretend that it is contrary to charity to let a man die because he refuses obstinately to confess; for, they say, if he lives, he may repent. But all reasonable persons answer, that laws are made for the general benefit, and must not be set aside, even they if cause damage to particular persons . . . If this objection had any value, we might say of Ananias and Sapphira that if they had lived they might have repented.

The Legate referred to the Pope, and it does not appear that much result followed. Many years after, the decree of

Innocent III. was enforced by Pius V., with some modifications, allowed to this day.

The Chartreux of Cologne continued their intercourse with Ignatius by letter. In the General Assembly held at the Grande Chartreuse in 1544, Hamontan, the Superior, proposed that they should admit the company of Jesus to a participation in all their prayers and works, and thus form a fraternal alliance between the two Societies. Hamontan, in the name of the chapter, communicated this decision to Ignatius, with whom he continued to exchange the most friendly letters.

The prior promoted actively the establishment of a college at Cologne, and aided by abundant generosities all the members of the Society who came to that city. As Ignatius could not in his poverty return these benefits, he sent to the prior, at his request, from time to time, some beads to which the Pope had attached indulgences, recommending him to exhort the persons to whom he gave them to observe all the duties of religion. He also granted readily a full participation in the good works of the Society to their brethren of the Chartreuse.

1540-5.

Ignatius ever loved Paris as the nursery of his order; among its people the memory of the first Fathers remained fresh and deep, and rich persons maintained in the university a number of young novices whom Loyola desired to perfect in the studies required at that day. For the Jesuits were perpetually reminded that they were to combat with all arms, and prepare for all sorts of hostilities, and would have frequently to oppose genius and learning ranged on the side of heresy or sin. Over these scholars he placed Diego d'Eguia, in the spring of 1540, and the next year Domenech succeeded him.

April,
1542.

In 1542 Ignatius sent Ribadeneira and Diaz to study there; and five others, among whom was Antonio Criminali, the first of the company who attained the honour of martyrdom, accompanied them as far as Avignon, and then went

on to Coimbra. Ribadeneira not being strong, and still a mere boy, the others proposed that when they left Rome he should be allowed to ride while they walked. Ignatius answered, 'Pedro may do as he pleases, but if he be a son of mine, he will travel on foot like the others.' So they set out after their fashion, two and two, Ribadeneira, as the weakest of the party, walking first, and all accommodating their pace and the arrangements of the journey to him. They had a small sum of money, which would suffice to allow each of them about three halfpence a day; but this was only in case of great emergencies—they were, under all but uncommon circumstances, to beg their daily bread, and to rest wherever charity offered them an asylum.

This was soon needed, for when Ribadeneira reached Viterbo he was footsore, and forced to remain there all night. Before the evening closed, his old restlessness and curiosity seized him; he ran all over the hospital where they were lodged, into the church, and then into the pulpit. Here the sacristan saw him, and began to ring the bell. Several persons came in, and Pedro perceiving that a congregation was collecting descended, but was told that he was the preacher whom the people came to hear. Whether this was done by the sacristan in simplicity, or as a joke, the story leaves us in doubt; either way, Pedro accepted the necessity of compliance and remounted the steps. He was not over-diffident at any time, and remembered that he had very recently, in compliance with a rule of the novitiate, preached a sermon in the refectory of their house at Rome on the subject of the holy sacrament. This he repeated without difficulty; and afterwards, when he had retired to his cell, an old man came to him, and said that he had long avoided the confessional and the altar, because he was meditating revenge for an injury received many years before, but now, persuaded by the sermon he had just heard, he desired to renounce his evil projects and receive absolution. Pedro, not yet a priest, sent him to his companion, Father Santa Cruz. He was thankful, he said, for this instance of success, but resolved to be more careful in future of meddling with holy things.

When Diaz and Ribadeneira—having parted at Avignon

with their five companions—had reached Caderousse, they found all the world in commotion with rumours of war, and indignant against Charles and his Spaniards. Diaz, easily repulsed, wished now to rejoin the others and proceed with them to Coimbra; Ribadeneira resisted, and they continued their journey to Paris, and, after two months' travelling and many escapes and difficulties, arrived at the college of the Lombards.

June 20,
1542.

Jerome Domenech, now rector of the scholars at Paris, had known Ignatius and his companions while they were studying there, but did not then join them.¹ A desire of learning brought him to Paris, and afterwards to Bologna, where he found his old acquaintance Xavier; then, intending to return to France, he came to Parma, where he met Faber and Laynez, who prevailed on him to wait a few days and go through the 'Spiritual Exercises.' He came from them resolved to enter the company of Jesus, whose members were still few and scattered. Ignatius had so much respect for Domenech, that he immediately placed the students of Paris under his care. Among them were some whose names were afterwards illustrious—Francis Strada, Paul Achille, Viola, and others less known, but not less fervent; they lived after the example left them by Loyola and his associates; they communicated constantly at the church of the Chartreux, and gave the 'Spiritual Exercises.' After these Jacques Miron, who, ten years later, was Provincial of Spain, asked to be admitted as a novice. Francis Picard and Maître à Cornibus, both distinguished men, declared themselves friends and patrons of the Society, and Eguia and Domenech united their scholars in the Collège des Boursiers; late in 1542 they moved to the Lombards. Ignatius soon called away Miron, Ponce Cogordan,² and Francis de Royas, whom he sent to Lisbon by desire of the King. Only sixteen

¹ He was of a noble family in Valencia, and held a canonry in the cathedral.

² Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, said of Ponce Cogordan, 'that he was the most adroit negotiator he had ever known, and he had known many.' His skill and his patience were abundantly tried during the long negotiations that he conducted on behalf of the Society with the Sorbonne and the French Court.

were then left. Soon after Francis and Charles renewed their ever-smouldering quarrel, and the subjects of Charles were ordered to cross the frontier within a week. Domenech and seven others, being Spaniards, prepared to leave Paris, and Brouet took Domenech's place. The University remonstrated with Francis against this ungenerous banishment, but in vain, and the students were forced to start, after only a month's residence. Diaz was no longer with them; he chose to become a soldier, and was ultimately killed in a duel. Emilian of Loyola, Francis Strada, Oviedo, Laurent Delz, already a priest, and three more, besides Pedro, accompanied Domenech. They were harassed on each day's journey by the disturbances of a coming war, and more than once arrested as prisoners, Domenech having much difficulty in persuading the governor of Amiens that the time fixed by the King for leaving France had not elapsed. At Arras they were safe, for the garrison were Imperialists; but being in a state of commotion, and the hospitals not able to receive them, they were forced to go on, although Ribadeneira had been entirely prostrated by fatigue. They reached Brussels at the close of the fourth day. There the Franciscans received and kept them, for they could not yet reach Louvain. Van Roussem ravaged all Brabant, and it was not till a fortunate sortie had driven him away from the gates of Louvain that Domenech and his party could proceed thither. When they entered they found the whole townspeople, even the clergy and students, still under arms; and many days passed before the usual studies were resumed.

During the war the unpopularity of the Spanish name acted at Paris unfavourably on the Institute, and was one, though the least perhaps, among the causes of hostility which it long had to struggle against in France.

Everywhere the Universities were at first jealous of the gratuitous and successful teaching of the Society. In Paris the Sorbonne thought its pre-eminence offended; and it needed all the patience, all the good done and the triumphs achieved by Ignatius, to appease and convert enemies, who were seeking an excuse for rancour generated in rivalries of race, learning, and popular favour. Besides, a powerful opposition was excited by the Bishop of Paris, who was

angry that the Society, without his consent, had admitted his nephew amongst their number, and moreover indignant that they had received from Paul III. a formal exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.

Dec. 1,
1544.

These enmities found a definite form in a decree of the Theological Faculties of Paris, dated December 1, 1544; but it was not communicated to the rector, Paschase Brouet, till early in the next year. Few had as yet joined in the attacks of the Sorbonne; personally, the Jesuits were beloved by all whom prejudice did not keep aloof from them, and Ignatius, according to his custom, bade them take all patiently and persevere, in spite of the prohibition of the Sorbonne, with as little offence as possible. Before the next year was closed a powerful patron had declared himself on the side of the company. Guillaume, bishop of Clermont, son of the Chancellor Du Prat, founded a college for it in his town of Billom, and gave the fathers in Paris a residence in his own Hôtel de Clermont, which he bequeathed to the Society, along with other property. This was afterwards called the College of Louis le Grand. Postel, that brilliant and highly erratic genius, who had mastered all languages and every science, and boasted that he could travel from Paris to Peking and speak everywhere the language of the country, to whom the French Court payed homage and called him the 'wonder of the world,' asked to be admitted among the novices. Ignatius rejoiced, and received him into the house at Rome; but he had no patience or humility for such a position, and his mind wandered into visions and ecstasies till he seemed to have become deranged: he expected another advent of the Messiah, talked astrology and Rabbinism; and when Salmeron and Laynez argued with him, they found he had mounted into a region whither it was useless or impossible to follow. Cardinal Savelli then made a similar attempt with no better success; and Ignatius was at last obliged to dismiss Postel.¹ This incident, misrepresented by prejudice and ill-will, increased the difficulties his order had to encounter in Paris. Yet all these causes do not fully explain the amount of abuse and calumnies which were invented and

¹ Postel was reconciled to the Church, and died in extreme old age.

spread, not only in France, but over half the world almost as soon as the Society was formed—calumnies perpetually refuted, subdued, and reviving; then turned to account by the Jansenists, and finally aiding largely in the suppression, in 1760, of the Society, and not perhaps quite to be extinguished to the end of the world. But Ignatius and his companions went on their quiet way, taking no heed of uncharity when they could avoid seeming to notice it, returning good for evil, or setting the evil gently aside.

He had never showed his remarkable discernment more than when he bade his brethren not defend themselves, but only live down the accusations made against them; there was no other way of answering enemies who were determined not to be convinced or appeased. Doubtless the chief and often sole cause of these attacks was in the innate hostility of human nature to exalted goodness anywhere; the jealousies of profession or country might explain the rest. During the years that preceded and followed the death of Ignatius all sorts of calumnies—many of them wholly absurd and contradictory—were constantly in operation somewhere or other against the Jesuits. They were accused of heresy; they were concealed Lutherans; they used incantations to bewilder the intellects of Lutherans; they were inflated with vanity, they were hypocritically humble; they practised witchcraft, they were actually demons; they were cloven-footed, having under human appearances the faces and wings of bats; the effects of the ‘Spiritual Exercises’ were attributed to sorcery. It was a crime, as the Calvinists represented, that the Jesuits obtained such wonderful power over men’s minds: ‘The cowardly they make bold, the soft become self-denying, the turbulent submissive; they stimulate the indolent, they strengthen the feeble;’ and Lermio sums up all in this sentence, which sounds like praise:—‘The Society of Jesus alone has equally adopted and utilised severity and gentleness, rule and laxity, poverty and wealth, use and renunciation.’ It was presumption in them to have been ten in number; for ‘ten’ was called ‘Atlas’ by the Pythagoreans, and the Jesuits chose it to signify that they support the Papacy as Atlas supports the world. False brethren obtained admission into the order, and then made

BARTOLL

LITHO
MISNO.

BARTOLI.

a rich harvest on the calumnies they carried to the heretics. Hasenmuller showed a pretended copy of the Constitutions, and proved, he said, 'that the Jesuits are obliged to commit theft, murder, or perjury, if their Superior bids them, and are governed like brutes.' Considering the names of some among these 'brutes,' it did not seem as if the accusation needed much answer.

Two impostors, Cambilone¹ and Schloss, obtaining admission among the Jesuits on false pretences, then flying for refuge, as they said, to the Protestants, gave to the world that shameless slander of the '*Monita Segreta*,' '*pieno di ribalde invenzioni*,' which has served its purpose so ingeniously, that it is not yet worn out; a story of secret instructions, confided to the Superiors only, which, adverse to all their outward show of disinterestedness, are directed to enrich and aggrandize the order, by all or any means, so that appearances are kept up; it is a falsehood invented by malice and repeated by dishonesty; the Cardinals of the Holy Congregation declared it to be '*false, utpote, Societati Jesu adscriptum, calumniosum et diffamationibus plenum.*'

The lives of the Jesuits, their labours, humility, and poverty, have answered for them so fully, that honourable minds can hardly ask further evidence; or they may weigh these words of St. Ignatius in the Constitutions:— 'Let all our study be to have an upright intention, not only in our state of life in general, but also in our particular actions, proposing nothing else to ourselves than to serve and please God, and this rather through love and gratitude to Him than through fear of punishment or hope of reward;' and then he adds, with a merciful indulgence to poor human nature, 'though these motives are also good, and may sometimes be profitably made use of.'

1543.

Louvain possessed an admirable establishment in the College of the Three Tongues, where Busleiden had inaugurated a system of study which sent out excellent scholars in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Thither went Domenech and

¹ I am afraid Cambilone was a Scotsman by descent, named Campbell.

his companions, and edified all who saw their regulated and pious life. Many of the students followed their example in the Sunday communion, and Domenech desired them for greater privacy and decency to receive it in future at the church of the Chartreux, which was less frequented. The young men gave addresses and exhortations, beginning already the work of the priesthood. Ribadeneira was remarkably successful, but appeared at one time not far from the danger expressed by St. Paul, who having preached to others, dreaded lest he might lose himself. A great melancholy seized him, and he often hid himself to weep. Domenech, recalled to Rome by Ignatius, resolved to take Ribadeneira with him, for the poor boy's courage sunk under the prospect of a life devoted to privations and study. It was not wonderful that the memory of past enjoyments should trouble him amid the labours and poverty of the novitiate; but his cheerfulness returned when Domenech promised him he should soon see Ignatius again. They started for the Tyrol in the beginning of Lent, accompanied by Laurent Delz, and forced by the war to travel by a long circuit, they met with extreme difficulties and hardships. Pedro was almost exhausted; they found an unexpected relief at Mayentz, where they met Faber, who had plenty of friends, and was able to procure for them all they wanted. He wept for compassion and tenderness when he saw Pedro, whom he had known at Rome a riotous, active boy, now wayworn and languid; he washed his wounded feet himself, and gave him all the care he needed. He kept them four days, and would have willingly detained Pedro when the others went on, but he would not stay behind, and so they pursued their perilous journey together through the mountains to Venice. There again they were comforted, for Laynez took them in. At Ravenna, Domenech was too ill to go further, and Delz stayed with him. Pedro having sold in the market-place a short cloak, which Faber had given him, for two livres, proceeded on towards Rome. Near Ancona he met Father Christopher Mendoza and three young Italian professors, who gave him two reals, going to open the College of Padua. When he reached the church of Loretto he fainted, but was able after a mass to go on to Tolentino, where he found

April 20.

Salmeron, and soon after Brouet, preaching in the towns thereabout, so that he was now comforted and restored, and able to reach the Gesù with fifteen sous in his possession. When he arrived, those who saw him did not know him again, so altered was he from the comely youth who had left them a year before. Ignatius was putting on the vestment for mass, when Pedro threw himself at his feet to ask his benediction. Father Ugoletti was deputed immediately to relieve Domenech, but Salmeron and Brouet had already gone to look for him, and found him at Ancona, much recovered, and on his way with Delz to Rome.

Francis of Villanova was a remarkable instance of that power of moulding and adapting all sorts of gifts and characters which was eminent in Ignatius, and seemed to descend as an inheritance to his Society; he was the son of a peasant, quite uneducated, but intelligent and honest; so that the curate of his parish¹ sent him to Rome to transact some business for him. There he heard great things of the new order; made the 'Exercises' under Salmeron, and asked to be received into the Gesù. Ignatius admitted him, placed him in the kitchen, then added the charges of Spenditore, Dispensiero, Svegliatore, and imposed penances when he could not perform impossibilities. The other Fathers remonstrated. 'Leave him alone,' said Ignatius, 'he has courage enough for anything.' And he would sometimes declare he should be satisfied if they had only twenty such as Villanova out of their sixty novices. But it was partly a kind consideration for his health's sake that caused Ignatius to send him to Alcalá, to found a college there. He led more than 4,000 persons, many of them distinguished men, to join the Society; yet he and his companions lived on alms, chiefly given by two ladies, who procured a lodging for them. Villanova was now thirty-four years old, yet still learning grammar, out of books which he could not buy, so he borrowed and copied them. His low birth, humble manners, and acknowledged ignorance did not hinder him from guid-

¹ Near Placencia, in Spain.

ing in spiritual matters some of the highest in the city; yet in the college of which he was rector he would never cease helping in the kitchen; it was the only work, he said, he was fit for. When the Bishop of Placencia visited him, he remarked that water was wanted for the house, and asked if some one might go with the ass to get it. 'Luckily my own brother is just arrived, and he is precisely the person to send,' said Villanova; and the new postulant was sent through the town for this purpose.

Villanova persuaded his friend Pedro Arragona, one of an 1544. Hieronymite Convent at Teadilla, a few miles distant, to go through the 'Exercises.' He conducted these with such admirable efficiency, that Pedro came out a new man. His greatest desire now was to persuade his comrades at the convent to follow them; but the monks rejected the idea with scorn. 'They were old in their Christian profession,' they said, 'and had no need to learn of a young priest and a new order.' At last Pedro obtained the consent of one man, and all the convent laughed at his success, for this one was a lay brother of noble birth and large fortune, but of such a strange and ungovernable temper, that they only tolerated him in the convent because of his donations to it. The brother himself was more moved by curiosity than devotion, and said to those he met on his way to Alcalá, 'I am going to try some sorceries which the Inigistes practise.' But when he asked for the rector, and saw Villanova, who had no external dignity of appearance, but wore over his slender figure an old and patched garment, his irritable temper was roused, and he gave signs of intending an immediate departure. Villanova, who knew the old soldier by description, entreated him to stay, at least till the next morning. The polished courtesy of his manners, his humility and charity, soothed his guest so efficaciously, that next day he consented to follow the rector's guidance, and entered that evening on the 'Spiritual Exercises.' The meditations of the first part alone were continued through twenty-one days, and when the noble lay brother returned to his monastery he was a humble and gentle Christian. The change appeared so

miraculous, that the monks now were all willing to try the same means, and the 'Exercises' produced a general and thorough reform.

Ortiz offered to give the college at Alcalá some property which belonged to him, on condition that one of the Fathers should undertake the duties of parish priest. But this Ignatius refused. The protection of Ortiz was powerful, and was much missed when he died two or three years after. The outcry against the Society, which had already been attacked by Melchior Cano, was repeated from a distance, and at Alcalá many voices were raised against the order. Villanova invited the Rector of the University to visit his house, showed him the novices, all the arrangements and rules; and in 1548 a tribunal was commissioned by the Rector to inquire and report on the proceedings of the Inigistes. The tribunal was composed of three persons, who, though unfriendly before they entered on the investigation, became, when they had concluded it, defenders and patrons of the order, and gave their judgments accordingly. One of the doctors of Alcalá, named Casa, still maintained his animosity, and even attacked the Bull of Paul III. An order came from Rome that he should be cited before the Inquisition; and Villanova, informed of this, gave Casa warning, upon which he retracted what he had said, and ever after kept the peace.

1544. When Faber, invited by King Joam from Germany, arrived at Lisbon in 1544, the King was at Evora; thither he followed him, was cordially received, and at once obtained the King's confidence. Araoz was to have met him; but on his way from Spain, early that year, accompanied by Strada, Oviedo, and Juan of Arragon, he had been delayed by bad weather, and forced to land at La Carogna, in Galicia. Another and very unexpected success here attended the Jesuits. The fishermen of La Carogna made an extraordinary haul of sardines during their stay, which they attributed to the presence of these holy men, and ever since the *pesca delle sardelle* is thought to be under the special protection of the Society of Jesus.

Here Strada preached; and Juan Beyra, canon of the

cathedral, having heard him, joined the company. They reached Valentia during Lent, where Araoz so charmed the people, that they crowded the church, and even climbed up to the windows and roofs to hear him. They wished that some of the order should always remain with them, and it was resolved to found a college. Araoz and his friends reached Lisbon in May, and found the college of Coimbra highly flourishing, Simon Rodriguez having prepared it for great things. Melchior Nuñez, De Grana, Carnero, Silveira, had recently been admitted; and others, whose names were afterwards remarkable, now asked to be placed among the novices.

Faber was under orders for Castille, and early in March next year he set off with Araoz. When they preached at Salamanca, the populace asked that a house of their order should be established there, which was promised. From thence, 1545. still travelling on foot, they went on to Valladolid, lodging as they were wont in the hospital. Philip of Spain and his bride Maria of Portugal were residing at the palace. It was but a few months that they passed together, for Maria died soon after the birth of Carlos, destined to those great misfortunes which have been so often told and sung; and Philip left Valladolid, perhaps a worse man than he might have been, if this poor young girl, whom he is said to have loved, had remained to soften the austerity of his temper and lighten its gloom. Philip saw that the new preachers would assist and strengthen the secular power. He and Maria received the Jesuits kindly, and gave them a ready patronage; Tavera, cardinal of Toledo, Pimental and many bishops declared themselves protectors of the order.

The daughters of Charles V. invited Faber to Madrid. As he went thither through Toledo, the Cardinal proposed to him to establish a house there; but Faber refused, in accordance with the directions of Ignatius, who thought it best to let the Court take the initiative; the house was begun soon after.

At Madrid he heard of the grief that had fallen on Philip, and of his departure from Valladolid. Here, too, he found it necessary to provide for the scholars; and Eleanora de Mascarenhas, governess of the royal child, furnished the funds required to begin with. Afterwards the college and

the professed house were completed by donations from rich and poor. Everything succeeded so well with Faber that he was alarmed at his own prosperity, and his letters to Ignatius express the diffident gratitude that was congenial to his humble nature. His work was now nearly done; he was but forty years old, but constant and unsparing toil had told upon him; he was exhausted, yet not satisfied that he had done enough. The King of Portugal wished to send him out to Ethiopia; Paul III. bade him accompany Laynez and Salmeron to Trent, where at last the Œcumenic Council, so long promised and delayed, was to assemble in the winter of 1545. It pleased God to summon His faithful servant before the Council opened; and Le Jay filled his place.

Michel Torrez, whom the Italians called Turriano, prefect of the University of Alcalá, was sent by its professors to Rome, to defend them against a quarrelsome character, the Archbishop of Toledo. Torrez had, like Olave, a dislike to the Society, adopted some of the misrepresentations spread concerning them in Spain, and would not have any intercourse with them. De Vega, the Spanish ambassador, with difficulty prevailed on him to speak with Salmeron, secretly, and by night. When Salmeron entreated him to see Ignatius, he answered, 'Do you suppose I would speak to such a man?' Yet at last Salmeron prevailed on him to meet Ignatius in their garden, beyond the walls of Rome. They talked long together; and before they parted, Torrez threw himself into Loyola's arms, saying, 'Do with me what you please!' He went through the 'Spiritual Exercises,' and soon after said he wished to enter the Society. This was deferred till he had finished his business in Rome and returned to Spain. He renounced, on his admission, not only the presidency of the University, but two fat benefices in the Church.

When Loyola was requested to found a college at Salamanca, he sent thither Torrez and two more. They began in the utmost poverty; the room which served them for a chapel had no other decoration than a figure of the Holy Virgin, drawn on paper with crayons by one of themselves. Soon afterwards Julius III., contrary to his custom, gave the college property worth 600 crowns.

Their success, as usual, was great; and, as was no less usual, after awhile it raised them up enemies. Melchior Cano, a famous Dominican preacher, a writer of much authority, whose work, 'De locis theologicis,' is still read, began about 1546 to declaim against the college. He attacked the Jesuit Fathers; he found in them the marks of Anti-Christ; they were *illuminati*, visionaries and heretics.

Torrez and his companions went to Cano, showed him the Bull of Paul III., reminded him that Xavier was the Pope's Nuncio in the New World, Laynez and Salmeron his appointed theologians for the Council of Trent. Pinna, also a Dominican, defended the Society; and at last the general of the Dominicans, Romée de Chatillon, came forward with an official declaration on their behalf.¹

But Cano refused to be silenced, even by the general of his order; he continued the war, which seemed likely to spread into other universities. In 1552 the Jesuits procured for him the bishopric of the Canary Islands. This was a mild and generous attempt at self-protection on the part of the Society; but Cano refused to go to the Canaries, and never ceased his attacks, even after the death of Ignatius. A letter which he wrote to Regla, an Augustine monk, was quoted by the enemies of the order when it was suppressed:—

I wish (said he) that I may not have the fate of Cassandra If these religious continue as they have begun, may God forbid that a time should come when kings would desire to resist them, and find it impossible.

Torrez sustained the attacks of Cano as well as of the Archbishop 'with equal modesty and patience,' after the

¹ He said:—'In these calamitous times a new order of priests, under the name of Jesus, has been by Divine goodness sent from Rome, as a battalion of reserve, which for the good it has done the Church, by teaching and preaching in public, exhortations in private, assiduously hearing confessions, and the offices of the Church, and its example of a saintly life, has been approved and confirmed by our Most Holy Father . . . And this we desire to ratify to you; lest some, misled by the recent date of this institute, might ignorantly attack our companions in arms, who have the same object with ourselves . . . and thereby calumniate the proceedings of these priests; whereas we should rather applaud their success, and imitate their piety.'

Rome,
Dec. 10,
1548.

custom of his order. It was said of him that, like Ignatius, he could never endure to think ill of any one, even of an enemy; he seldom spoke at all of any man whom he could not praise, or at least refrain from censuring; he hated uncharity so much, that none in his presence dared say a disparaging word respecting the worst characters, unless there were some necessity for it. Ignatius highly prized Torrez: he said, 'I value him as the apple of mine eye;' and under him the Jesuit college at Salamanca attained considerable eminence.

Laynez removed to Brescia early in 1544, where the doctrines of Luther and Calvin were in great favour. He preached, and was admired as usual; but an apostate monk, whose name we must regret not to know, announced that he had arguments against purgatory so conclusive, that Laynez must be silenced by them, if not convinced. Laynez challenged him to a public contest. In those days such disputes, the chief intellectual amusements of an age when books were still rare, were greatly enjoyed. Numbers thronged to hear the discussion, which was opened by the monk, who went through all his arguments without interruption; Laynez listening with downcast eyes, in perfect patience, till his antagonist had exhausted his subject. Then, with the accuracy of a prodigious memory, Laynez went through the objections in the order in which they had been stated, taking up each point, and refuting the Lutheran's view so fully and clearly, that an extraordinary result followed. For not only did the audience pronounce for Laynez, but the monk owned himself vanquished, returned to the faith of the Church, and became a warm friend of Laynez from that time.

1544. On Quinquagesima Sunday, Laynez commenced his Lent sermons in the cathedral; besides, he preached three times a week in other churches, and at three convents of nuns.

The peace between Francis and Charles that was signed in September of that year, at the Château de Cressy, gave a short breathing-time to Europe, and Rome at last anticipated a period of prosperity. Paul had with difficulty pre-

1545.

vailed on the two Sovereigns to meet at Nice. Their conference promised a united action against the Turks, and the solid support of the Catholic Church, and not less promoted the darling projects of Paul himself. He obtained Novara, with a large territory for Pier Luigi Farnese, whom he did not scruple to recognise as his son; Charles promised his daughter Margaret to Ottavio, the son of Pier. Francis also agreed to affiance the Duke of Vendôme to Vittoria, sister of Ottavio; this French marriage never took place. Margaret espoused Ottavio; their union was not happy; the bride, much older than her husband, showed great contempt for him, and professed to adhere to her father in all their disputes.

But when the next year brought the opening of the long-looked for Council at Trent, an heir was expected in the family of Ottavio, and this bound the Farnesi more than ever to the Austrian cause. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese went to Worms, where Charles was staying, and appeared successful in effacing the Emperor's mistrust. It was not very unreasonable; for if Paul was an enlightened and energetic head of the Church, it is no less certain that his desire to aggrandise the Farnesi family was excessive, led him frequently in his diplomatic relations to consider far too much what was likely to secure their large territories in the north of Italy, and filled the last days of his life with regrets, and even with remorse.

Charles afterwards accused Paul, in no measured terms, of deceiving him; the double dealing was not less on Charles's side. An expression that the Emperor uses in speaking of the Brief sent by Paul to the Diet of Spire, betrays a view taken by Charles which was likely to create perpetual jealousies between Austria and Rome. He says, 'The Emperor declined giving an answer, as this could not be done without compromising the honour of the *two heads of Christianity*.' ¹ With such pretensions, the peace of Europe was impossible. We find, from the words of Charles himself, that at Worms, he and his brother, the King of the Romans, 1545. proposed to Cardinal Farnese that the Pope's army should unite with theirs to suppress the Protestants by force.

¹ Autobiography of Charles V.

Farnese, although he had before declared he had full power to arrange everything, would not take any steps for concluding this matter. And when their Majesties said, since he would do nothing of himself, it would be best for them to consult his Holiness without delay, Farnese chose to be their messenger. Even then he did not make the haste the Imperial party desired; the oath of secrecy which Charles insisted on was not kept. Paul thought it necessary to summon a Consistory, and announce the Emperor's proposals. Some voices in the conclave were against the coalition. The Pope, nevertheless, agreed to it, and named Ottavio Farnese gonfaloniere of the Italian army. He called on his people to join the expedition, and revenge the sacking of Rome. Then Charles drew back; he said it was too late for that year, being near the Feast of St. John; the Protestants might be forewarned; this would give them an advantage.

The Papal and Imperial forces at last actually combined, and had reduced almost all the north of Germany, when Paul, to the great disgust of the Emperor, withdrew his troops; and till the mists of the Elbe had won for Charles V. the battle of Muhlberg, it seemed doubtful whether the old or new doctrines were to preponderate in the balance of European power.

1545.

The King of Portugal continued to employ the company of Ignatius in Europe and in the East. In 1545, the Jesuits, sent by Ignatius to Xavier, took charge of the seminary of Goa, established some years before, and Nicolo Lancillotti began to teach Latin.

Dec. 4,
1545.Aug. 9,
1546.

Ignatius used his influence well, in persuading Joam to interfere to stop the practice of duelling. His aid was also given in a matter abhorrent to the ideas of our times: he complied with the King's request that he would procure from the Pope authority to establish a tribunal of the Inquisition. Two letters to Simon Rodriguez remain at the Gesù on this subject; one dated December 1545, and the other in the following August. There is also an allusion made to a negotiation, which Ignatius had agreed to help forward, to obtain a Cardinal's Hat for the Infant Henry,

Bishop of Evora; this Paul gave. In the letter of August 1546 Ignatius says that—

The proposals made by King Joam respecting the Inquisition are not yet entirely accepted. The Pope desires that the Saracens and Jews, who had received baptism, should have four months granted to them to decide either to remain in Portugal and live there as true Christians, or leave it, if they prefer to retain their superstitious worship. The Pope wills also, that the Inquisition should be gentle and compassionate towards all who are brought before it, whatever be the cause.

About this time Ignatius was much occupied with another distant project: a patriarch and some companions were asked of him for Abyssinia. Eight years before Joam had desired to send missionaries into his newly-acquired settlements, on the borders of the Red Sea, round which spread those fabulous domains of Prester John, with their metropolis, ninety-seven miles in circumference, whose supposed treasures incited the greedy and impious invaders to such rapine and violence, as made the Christian name and faith detested there. Francis Xavier complained often and strenuously of such proceedings; the Court of Portugal apparently did nothing to repress the evil, endeavouring rather to ignore it. The natives consequently remained barbarian; their Christian conquerors were more barbarous than they.

At last King Joam, in 1546, moved perhaps by the wonderful zeal and success of Xavier, applied, through Tellez, his ambassador, to Ignatius, to send thither a mission that might convert those nominal Christians, as well as their heathen subjects, and reunite all with the See of St. Peter, which, in their ignorance and superstition, they had almost deserted. The request was one to rejoice his heart, and he wrote in 1547 to Simon Rodriguez:—

If it be the will of God our Lord, that one of this Society should 1547.
devote himself to this enterprise in Ethiopia, I think the lot should fall on Master Paschasius (this was Brouet), for if I were to choose, and considering everything, both general and individual, I would choose no one else; for if it be certain, which I do not think it is, that only a professed is suited for this charge, I consider that whoever may undertake it must have three qualifications—first, virtue; second,

learning; third, that he should be of a dignified exterior, strong and middle-aged. These three qualities I find combined in no one of the company so far as in Master Paschasius; for if we take Le Jay, though he possesses many virtues, he wants an imposing look, and is of feeble health besides; Master Salmeron wants age, and looks still as young as when you knew him; Master Bobadilla has bad health, and besides is not very suitable. Of us all, who are only nine professed, and whom you are acquainted with, certainly any one of their endowments is qualified for this business, but none in so many ways, I think, as Paschasius: first, he is so good, that we consider him in our company as an angel; secondly, besides the learning that he possesses, he has much experience in the reform of bishoprics and convents—for while he was nuncio in Ireland he was more than any of the company employed in this work, and decided with wonderful skill on everything that came in his way; for he is naturally very active and very diligent, and has always many episcopal and reserved cases to resolve, which will be still more required in Ethiopia. Besides this, he is personally very comely and strong, and his age is a little more or less than forty. May God, our Lord, according to His infinite and highest goodness, lead and direct this whole business, and when necessary order it with His own hand, as may be most for the greater service, praise and glory of the Divine Majesty.

Rome, Dec. 26, 1547.

Jan. 17,
1549.

Still time went on, and the King made no effort to advance the matter, although Ignatius often complained. In a letter of January 1549, to some person in the Court of Lisbon, he reminded his correspondent, that the nomination of a patriarch had been delayed for three years; and observes that the mission would exalt the power and dignity of the King, since the choice of the patriarch would remain with him, and especially because of the vicinity of his Indian possessions (here, as in much of Loyola's writing, the sentences are somewhat involved, but the meaning is clear):—

If even there have been reasons for this delay which excuse the King, yet it seems to move greatly one's compassion and sympathy that so many souls should remain so long forgotten; and this is chiefly what is urged here, by those who wish that the affair should be carried on.

1553.

Yet it was not till 1553 that the King wrote to Ignatius

that he desired him to choose twelve priests of his order, of whom one should be patriarch of Ethiopia, and another his coadjutor and successor. In answering the King's letter, Ignatius speaks of Prester John, the imaginary despot of the middle ages, as a king of Ethiopia; he was sometimes believed to be the Khan of the Mongols.

Ignatius has left in his own handwriting, when in the tenth part of the Constitutions he forbids his people to accept dignities, that in the matter of the patriarch and bishops of Ethiopia, 'resisti non potuit'; and he adds afterwards, 'resistendi modus defuit.' But, in truth, there was no inconsistency, for these offices were far from desirable to any worldly mind; and he probably alludes only to the coercion of his own conscience, for he repeatedly revived the subject when the King seemed indifferent. After all, Brouet was not the patriarch chosen; perhaps his French origin was unacceptable. Ignatius sent to King Joam three names, whence he was to elect one to be patriarch—the others would be his coadjutors. These were Nuñez, Carnerio—both Portuguese—and Oviedo, a Spaniard, rector of the College of Gandia. The King chose for patriarch Juan Nuñez.

It was in 1553 that the Jesuits actually departed.

The winter of 1544 brought a long illness to Pedro di Ribadeneira, which the tenderness of Ignatius made rather an enjoyment than a calamity. When the Lent came, his physician forbade his fasting; but Pedro represented to Ignatius that his companions might be scandalised by this exemption. 'Who has a right to be offended?' said Ignatius; 'should they not rather thank God that they are not under the same necessity?' And, indeed, he heard afterwards that some of the college at Toledo had blamed Pedro for accepting this indulgence. Ignatius was so displeased, that he announced he would dismiss from the Society any who thus sinned against charity and obedience, and he ordered this letter to be read aloud in the refectory at Toledo.

Upon the recovery of Ribadeneira, who had not yet completed his studies—interrupted at Paris and Louvain—Ignatius sent him to Padua, along with Ugoletti and Diego

Salmeron, a young brother of Alphonso. They made the journey more quickly this time, but Diego arrived exhausted, and died after a short illness. He was ready for Heaven; he had acquired the most difficult virtues of his order. It was said of him that he was never known to complain of any one, whatever injury he might have received; he always asked pardon as if he were the offender.

Ignatius wrote in 1546 to Ortiz, who had a strong interest in Ribadeneira:—

I have nothing to add, except that Pedro de Ribadeneira, who is studying at Padua, is very much esteemed there, for his conduct and his progress in letters. I believe, if he lives, that he will be an eminent and faithful servant of God our Lord.

1547.

Pedro often sent his compositions in prose and verse to Polanco, now secretary of the company, asking his criticisms; for Polanco was the friend of all in the Society. All his life his charity found leisure and sympathy for the interests of each member, though the general gave him what seemed full employment; and he frequently had the greater part of the burden of the Society resting on him, besides that he translated the Constitutions, wrote several works of much value, historical and doctrinal, heard confessions, gave audience and counsel to many among the most distinguished of the Roman Court. But, amid the greatest hurry of business, he appeared ever 'with an equal countenance, grave, composed.' He divided the hours of the day and night, so that every moment had its allotted duty, either for some part of his charge, or the profit of his own soul; he assigned a mystery of the Saviour's life or Passion to every day in the week, dividing each into three parts; he practised much the Catholic duty of intercession; he prayed for the colleges, for the countries that had received the company, and then, by name, for his friends. And the control he exercised over his thoughts was so great, that no worldly ideas ever intruded on him until his devotions were ended, and secular interests recalled.

Feb. 18,
46.

The interests of Luther's party were not much affected by his death, early in 1546. In a few months after, on

August 1, Faber, one of the most active of his opponents, died at Rome. He had been almost two years in Spain, successful beyond his hopes; preparing himself always, in the humility of his ingenuous and diffident spirit, for disappointments that never came; and seeing the company of Jesus flourishing everywhere—a new college munificently endowed at Valladolid, and another begun by Francis Borgia in the town of Gandia, of which Faber helped to lay the first stone. He reached Barcelona in the intense heats of June, already oppressed with fever; he still taught and preached as usual. The Pope had named him one of his theologians at the Council now opened at Trent, and Ignatius bade him return immediately to Rome; but hearing of his great weakness, wrote to him that he might delay his journey for awhile. Faber hesitated. Some of the Fathers were of opinion that he had better proceed, and this was decisive to one so humble and so regardless of himself; others told him that he would lose his life in this attempt to reach Rome. He said, ‘It is necessary to obey, but not to live,’ and so he sailed for Italy. Perhaps the joy of his arrival caused him to recover a little when he was safe in the Gesù. Ignatius wept over him tears of tenderness and exultation; he had nothing to hear from Faber but stories of continued success, and the visible Providence of God over the Society everywhere. In a few days he was again prostrated by fever, and this time to rise no more.

Faber left behind him the charming memory of a character moulded to Christian perfection in the school of Ignatius. His room in the Gesù was small and humble, like the rest, yet every year he examined its poor contents to see if there was not something he could spare; for he adopted the precept of Ignatius, to love poverty as a mother. When he said the office, he interrupted it by frequent ejaculations, that his mind might never languish or wander; most frequently he used these words: ‘Pater Celestis, da mihi spiritum bonum!’ At every period of the office he meditated on some mystery of the Passion; then he considered the life of the Saint whom the office commemorated. He made a promise to himself, and renewed it before each psalm, that he would give his whole mind to it. Sometimes

he imagined himself surrounded by the choirs of angels, who were praising God along with him ; sometimes that he saw Satan far off, watching for some fault.

His mind seems to have had a peculiar sympathy with the spirits who are 'sent to minister to the heirs of salvation,' who 'have charge over us,' and 'rejoice over the repenting sinner.' He never entered a town, or engaged in converse with any, without mentally invoking the guardian angels of the place or persons. He asked always that they would convey to his mind some illumination from the Father of Lights; and it appears that the prayer was mercifully granted, for his words reached the hearts of his hearers and turned them to the love of God.

1546.

Domenech was sent about this time to begin the College of Bologna. He gave there the 'Exercises' to Annibal Codretti and Benedetto Palmio, afterwards active in the Society.

1546.

Ignatius had now enjoyed a long reprieve from calumnies and persecutions ; this eventful year brought him new trials of this sort, painful to relate and to read, although they terminated to his honour. At one and the same time he was attacked from three different quarters. The most violent of his enemies was Mattia, postmaster of San Cassiano, a man of furious temper and strong passions, who had carried away another man's wife, and now lived with her in Rome. This woman, having heard the preachings and exhortations of Ignatius and his companions, repented, and sought an asylum in the House of St. Martha. Mattia, transported with rage, made a nocturnal attack on the house, and when this failed, uttered the most preposterous accusations against the Jesuits, reviving even the old story of heresies which had been refuted so often; he persisted both in speaking and writing, until at last Ignatius thought it needful to petition Paul to name some persons who should make a fresh investigation. To this the Pope could not then assent, because his vicar, Filippo Archinti, was very ill. When he recovered, Ignatius renewed his application through the Bishop of

Cesena, his friend and protector, who addressed Paul on behalf of the 'holy company of Jesus.' Paul then ordered his vicar and Frangini, governor of Rome, to investigate the matter. Archinti twice visited the cloister of St. Martha to take the depositions of the women, and examined there and elsewhere very closely into the doctrines and morals of the Jesuits; at last he named July 3 for the hearing of both parties; but Mattia did not appear, either then or later, nor even when sentence was to be given. His rage appears to have subsided, for he even privately sought an accommodation, as Ignatius relates in a letter to Michel Torrez. The lady mentioned is the wife of Juan de Vega, Viceroy of Sicily; both were warm friends of the Society; and helped to found five colleges for it in Sicily and the kingdom of Naples:—

The worthy Mattia has been supplicating Donna Eleanora Osorio not to oppose him; he will endeavour to procure a sentence; he will ask my pardon and speak everywhere, if she desires it, in our favour. She sent for me two days ago to Campo Florae, and told me that she, as well as the Lord Juan de Vega, were of opinion we should accept Mattia's offer of conciliation; but I brought such strong reasons against this, that I convinced her. I also told her that, in my opinion, there ought to be no compromise with Mattia, and I did not want him to ask pardon, nor that the sentence should be obtained through his intervention; also, I had no doubt that it would be given with justice, and to the greater glory of God.

At last her Highness agreed that this way was much better than the other. This same Mattia went yesterday to the Pope's vicar, and said publicly many things in our favour and to his own detriment. He is trying to make himself friends, for fear the thing may turn somewhat against him, which is very likely. May God grant that all may happen for His greater glory.

Some days later he writes again to Torrez:—

The Mattia has given testimony in our favour, before the Pope's vicar, and condemned himself; and he says he wishes to make peace with me.

The sentence at last given by the judges declares, after a short *résumé* of the inquiry:—

That the accusations are false, lying and malicious. That these priests and their congregation are of such ways of life, purity of morals, piety and strict Catholic doctrine; they have brought now

for many years such rich cultivation into the Lord's vineyard, they stand in such good favour and repute with all men, that they are placed out of reach of all calumnies and imputations ; but most of all their Superior, the honorable Don Ignatius of Loyola.

The judgment therefore imposed silence on Mattia respecting these calumnies, on pain of losing his employment and forfeiting all his goods, without further warning, while the judges reserved for the present to make known the punishment of his offences. .

This was a gentle sentence, and obtained at the intercession of Ignatius, who wished Mattia to be let off easily when the Society had been entirely justified ; he won in this way so much gratitude from Mattia, that he afterwards became a benefactor to their house at Rome.

The next attack came from a secular priest, Giovanni di Torano, Superior of the house of Jewish Proselytes, which Ignatius had founded. The influence of Ignatius with the magistrates, which overbore his own, in matters concerning this establishment, excited his jealousy, probably controlling his desire of independence, or even some worse passions ; he uttered furious abuse of Ignatius and his company, and at last presented a memorial to the Pope, in which he formally accused them of heresy and violating the secrets of the confessional. Ignatius did not think it necessary this time to defend himself ; but Torano, made incautious by the silence of Ignatius and his own resentment, demanded an investigation, which brought to light proofs of such hypocrisy and misconduct on his own part, that the Cardinal del Monte, who directed the inquiry, suspended him from the Divine offices, deprived him of all charges and benefices, and confiscated his goods. The sentence added, that the leniency of a spiritual tribunal would impose no heavier punishment on Torano than imprisonment for life ; this afterwards was commuted to banishment, probably at the prayer of Ignatius.

An attack was made on the Society about the same time, from some motive unknown, by a Spanish monk, named Barberan, who addressed a complaint to the Pope :—

Barberan (writes Ignatius) has made a complaint against St.

Martha's. His Holiness has commissioned Cardinal Crescenti to inquire into it. He told me yesterday it had no foundation whatever—as, for instance, he quoted, that we administered at St. Martha without apostolic authority (whereas his Highness well knows the contrary), that we wanted to reform the whole world, and give such sort of teaching as this, that all the faithless wives in Rome ought to be put to death, and more of this sort, without head or tail. The Cardinal, who knows all about it, has himself shown the manner and way in which we should proceed, so that in accordance with his Holiness all this may be cleared up.

Not content with an appeal to the Papal authority, Barberan wrote a letter to Ignatius, full of abuse, and got some one to convey it. Ignatius answered him in a letter addressed to the bearer himself; it is extremely characteristic:—

Señor, say to the Father Brother Barberan, you say you wish that as many of our people as are in Spain, from Perpignan to Seville, might be burnt; but I say I wish this, that you and your friends and all that belong to you, not only from Perpignan to Seville, but over all the earth, may be inflamed by the Holy Spirit, and burn so well, that they may reach the summit of perfection, and make themselves shining lights, to the glory of the Divine Majesty. Farther, will you say to him, that our business will be investigated by the governor and the vicar of his Holiness, that a sentence may be given. If, therefore, he has any complaint to make of me, he may address it to these judges, that if I be guilty in anything, I alone may atone for it; and much rather would I make amends with my own body (which would be very acceptable to me), than that all the others between Perpignan and Seville should be burned without the least fault on their part.

Rome, at Sta. Maria di Strada, August 10, 1546.

Genelli quotes as a remarkable parallel to this letter one addressed by Luther, three years before, to the bearer of a missive from Schwenkfeld, who wrote with a desire of propitiating him; but the style is too Lutheran for repetition. It is certainly a contrast.

At this time Ignatius was occupied with two points of much more subsequent importance. He obtained for the Jesuits exemption from all spiritual employment—accompanied by dignities in the Church—and from the regular direction of nuns. The first concession was inestimable to

Ignatius. He saw that without it his Society could not long subsist in that eminent usefulness for which he destined it; and that the worth and abilities of its Fathers would cause the most valuable of them to be successively removed. Many bishoprics were at this time vacant, because men of sufficient learning, piety, and energy for these troubled times could not be found; and it was from Germany, the great theatre of these troubles, that the attempt to employ the Jesuits in this manner at first came. Ferdinand desired to place Bobadilla, then at Ingoldstadt, in the vacant See of Trieste. Bobadilla wrote to Ignatius:—‘A secretary of the King of the Romans is come to this Court, and has begged me to accept the bishopric of Trieste. But I answered him that we were called to poverty, not to honours.’ Ferdinand then, through the Bishop of Laybach, his confessor, made the same offer to Le Jay, who also refused; but this time the escape was made with more difficulty. He wrote immediately from Venice to Ignatius, and a day or two later to the King. Then, having heard that Ferdinand was taking measures at Rome, he sent a second letter entreating him to desist. Ferdinand had ordered his ambassador at Rome, Jacopo Lasso, to obtain the Pope’s nomination of Le Jay; he wrote also a very pressing letter to explain his motives, and the urgency of the case. Maffei, the Pope’s private secretary, communicated this letter to Ignatius, who instantly went to the ambassador, and entreated him to desist. Lasso showed him the letter in which Ferdinand, with his own hand, had ordered his ambassador to do his utmost to procure Le Jay’s appointment, and was deaf to all representations. Then Ignatius went to the Pope, and, with great grief and earnestness, supplicated him not to oblige the members of his new Society to accept any office connected with preferments in the Church. But Paul had already approved the nomination of Le Jay, and was determined to confirm it. He answered Ignatius, in the words of Scripture, that the hearts of kings are in the hands of the Lord, and he thought that God Himself had inspired Ferdinand in this; he added, as he closed the interview, that he would ask counsel from God, and he bade Ignatius do the same.

Several of the cardinals were warm friends of Loyola, and

Sept. 15,
1546.

Sept. 25.

Dec.

he now appealed to them. Carpi, patron of the Society, Dec. 4. wrote to Ferdinand in the interest of Ignatius. Nevertheless, the affair proceeded, and a day was fixed for the decision; it only now remained to try the intercession of Margaret of Austria; and she, at the request of Ignatius, asked the Pope to suspend the nomination till there was time to write again to Ferdinand and receive an answer. Orlandini, who gives this letter in the original Latin, probably corrected it; for the ideas of Ignatius were commonly much better than his Latinity.

The letter was successful. Ferdinand charged his ambassador to desist from petitioning the Pope, who then ceased to oppose the wishes of Ignatius. The Society celebrated mass in thanksgiving, and chanted the *Te Deum*.

Ignatius after this took pains to explain more fully to the Pope the peculiar spirit of his company, which made honours and promotions destructive to it, and his dread that his brethren might either become secularised by the admission of such honours among them, or that their motives would be less pure, or at least less entirely unsuspected; or that jealousies might arise, and thereby their union among themselves be diminished. He added, that the professed, having necessarily more access to the Court of Rome than other religious, from their employment as Papal missionaries, would be more readily accused of striving to obtain benefices; and the near position of some to sovereign princes as confessors exposed them to similar dangers, and suggested the same cautions. But he took pains to show that he did not condemn the other orders who had not the same scruples; they filled high places with edification to the people, he said; they were long established, and had acquired strength enough to bear heavy burdens; his company, on the contrary, was recent and still weak. Then, reverting to the ideas of his military days, he said, 'Holy Father, I consider the other orders in the army of the church militant as squadrons of soldiers who remain on the ground assigned to them, keep their ranks, stand firm against the enemy, and do not change their position or mode of combat. But we are like the light horse, who are always to be ready, night or day, in times of alarm and surprise—who attack or support according to

circumstances, go everywhere, and skirmish on all sides. Therefore, being obliged to remove constantly from one town or province to another, and even from one end of the earth to the other, at the least intimation from the Vicar of Christ, they cannot rightly be fixed anywhere.'

Paul, approving of these arguments, was at last persuaded that to exempt the Jesuits from high offices would not be less useful to the Church than to the Society; and when he granted this singular petition, added these words—'It is the first time that any sovereign has heard such a request as this.'

All the religious orders hitherto included women, and Ignatius, in the early part of his ministry, held spiritual intercourse with many of all sorts, and especially with nuns, besides those pious friends, who, like Iñez Pascoala and Isabel Roser, had been the first and most helpful of his adherents, while he and his Society were still struggling for the life. Many of these expected he would go a step farther, and establish convents for nuns. It was an unreasonable hope, since the spirit of his order is eminently missionary, combatant and aggressive, and therefore unsuited to women. But Genelli quotes, with great admiration, a letter on this subject from Donna Joanna of the Ducal family of Cardona, whose husband was assassinated at Valencia, when she was extremely young; she repaired afterwards to the Court of Charles to obtain vengeance on his murderers. When she returned to Valencia, she became acquainted with Father Mirone, and went through the 'Exercises;' they produced in her such a desire to leave the world, that, making over her property into the hands of the guardians of her children, she retired with some other ladies into a hospital, and devoted herself to serve the poor. She wrote to Ignatius:—'I pray you earnestly to receive me into this holy company, and into the order of the holy and sweet name of Jesus, for this sacred name has always been deeply graven on my heart ever since the time of my childhood, or that I could use my reason.'

In another letter she declares that, like the Canaanitish woman, she will not depart without a blessing:—'My wants are not less, my faith is no weaker than hers. It has made

me quit my children and my possessions, my kinsfolk and my friends, and now makes me wish to fly still farther from them, because they are friends in the flesh only and enemies to the soul. Would you have me go to Rome? I will go; and if I am not worthy to see you and receive your benediction, command me to go into the Indies, or remain here, or go no matter whither; I will obey you unto death. She who has travelled more than a thousand miles to obtain justice, instigated by an excessive human love, will recoil from no difficulties, and will travel twice as far, or all her life long, to obtain mercy, for the love of Him who possesses her and all, and for whose sake she has left all. Since your heart, full of tenderness, expands itself towards others, and receives them willingly, you will not close it against me, my dear Father and master, unworthy servant that I am, of the servants of Jesus. Trusting in the good Lord and in your compassion, I wait your answer, which I beg you, with the utmost humility, to send me as soon as possible.'

What Ignatius answered we can only guess. She died at Valencia, in the reputation of sanctity, the year following.¹

Loyola had already experienced the inconveniences that might attend this sort of direction, and refused one who had a better claim on him than Donna Joanna. For his old friend and benefactress, Isabel Roser, had after her widowhood followed him to Rome, and there persuaded him to receive her vows of spiritual obedience along with those of her companion Francesca. He did not comply without reluctance: at first he refused any formal undertaking of this nature; and it was not till the influence of Doña Isabel's friends at the Papal Court had procured the interference of Paul himself, that Ignatius yielded a point on which he had already made up his mind. After this two more ladies joined Isabel, and they formed a little community, living in conventual seclusion and practices of piety. Ignatius soon found their direction a burden and discomfort; he repented the acceptance of their vows; they encroached upon him unreasonably;

Francesca
Cruglies.

¹ It seems probable that she was a kinswoman and friend of the Beata Catherine of Cardona, born at Naples in 1519. Catherine was much allied with the Princess of Eboli, wife of Ruy Gomez, who was so warm a friend of the Society.

perpetually appealed to him to appease their scruples, answer their doubts, or even settle their disputes. He once said the direction of these four devout ladies gave him more trouble than all his company. He resolved to extricate himself, and wrote about the same time to the Pope, asking to be freed from the obligations he had taken; and to Isabel Roser, he made the announcement with all possible consideration and gentleness:—

Venerable Doña Isabel Roser, my mother and sister in Jesus Christ,—In truth, I would willingly please you, for the greater glory of God, and retain you in spiritual obedience, as hitherto, watching with solicitude for your greater good and the perfection of your soul. But as I have not the necessary powers, as I am hindered by my maladies, and the affairs which I must prefer to all others, before God our Lord and the Pope in His name; warned also in my conscience that the especial direction of women, with the vow of obedience, is contrary to the object of this small Society, as I explained about six months since to his Holiness, I have thought it more for God's glory, that I should retire altogether from this care, and keep you no longer in obedience as my spiritual daughter, but consider you rather as a good mother, such as you long have been, for the greater glory of the Divine Goodness. I remit you then, as far as I can and without prejudice to higher authority, to the eminently wise judgment and decision and will of his Holiness, so that your soul may be entirely tranquil and consoled, to the greater glory of God.

Rome, Oct. 1, 1546.

The petition of Ignatius to Paul III. was as follows:—

Most Holy Father,—The subscribers, general, and priests of the company of Jesus, created and approved in the holy city of your Holiness, strive continually, after their poor means, to serve the Church of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and consequently your Holiness, His Vicar upon earth. But as these priests are solicited by many considerable persons, particularly in Spain, to take the direction of nuns and of women who desire to serve God piously, and as they are convinced this would be a great obstacle to the other functions they have to fill in God's service, conformable to the Constitutions which your Holiness has given to their Institute; as, moreover, the ministry now required of them is new, and might easily diverge unfortunately, and that small difficulties might in time become great, these priests humbly throw themselves at your feet, and ask as an especial favour that your Holiness will decide

and declare, that the direction of nuns and sisterhoods, or of other women, or receiving from them vows of obedience, is incompatible with the other duties of the company, after the Constitutions which your Holiness has given to the Institute; that they ought to be dispensed from such spiritual charge of women; and that it would be unsuitable to their foundation and Society.

He also prayed the Pope to remit the vows of obedience to him taken by Doña Isabel and her companions. Paul granted both these dispensations, and events that speedily followed in Doña Isabel's family showed that Ignatius' appeal was not made too soon.

When Ercole d'Este was urgent in pressing Le Jay and Bobadilla to undertake for only a few days the direction of a nunnery founded by the duke's mother, Ignatius would not allow them to comply, though at the moment the deeds of the new college at Ferrara were in the duke's hands, waiting his ratification, so that it was important not to displease him.¹

The subsequent career of the Society, which seems to have prospered by retaining scrupulously the strict regulations of their founder, bears witness to his sagacity; they have only departed from the letter when they could perfectly comply with the spirit, as in the cases, already mentioned, of the confessors to kings and the mission to Ethiopia.

Mattia and Barberan were ordinary opponents, their attacks being such as any public man might anticipate, when he invaded the domains of Satan, and startled a host of interests and prejudices; but Ignatius had next to defend himself against one who had strong claims on his gratitude, and had been till now one of his most devoted friends. This Isabel Roser, whom he called his mother, his early patroness at Barcelona, to whom heaven had revealed his saintly des-

¹ Long afterwards, one of the Fathers in Valladolid, being commanded by his superiors, undertook the charge of a convent of nuns there; but when Ignatius heard of this he ordered him to be removed. The Clares of Barcelona also addressed, through Araoz, a request to Ignatius that they might have some of his company for directors; but he refused it, and reproved Araoz for transmitting their petition. In the same sense he answered the entreaties of some single nuns, taking refuge in the Pope's brief; and eventually he made the rule more stringent in the Constitutions.

tiny, by showing her a crown of glory round his head, who had assisted his journeys and his studies, and at last followed him to Rome, in the hope that he would help her soul to paradise and close her eyes; from some cause not well known turned against him, and commenced a suit to recover some money which Ignatius declared was not due. It was instituted, it seems, by some nephews—one especially, named Doctor Ferrar, who was hostile to Ignatius; but his renunciation of their spiritual relation was doubtless an offence and a grief to Isabel, and she could not or would not understand his reasons. Ignatius wrote to Torrez in the autumn of this stormy year:—

Oct. 18,
1546.

The Señora Roser asks two things: first, as she has always lived in great friendship with me, that I should give her a declaration in writing, that I do not leave her on account of her faults. Second, she complains of the way in which our temporal affairs have been arranged, when they were discussed in the presence of Doña Eleanora, Roser herself, Johanna Bosch, myself and another. I say she makes complaints for three or four days after she went through her accounts and reckoned up, and maintains, that in her opinion our house is indebted to her a great sum. I would not agree to this last, until a new investigation can be made, as I am quite persuaded the right is on our side. She would hardly allow herself to be prevailed on by my prayers to name some one on her side, as I would do on mine, and if these two could not agree, we might refer the question to some discreet and learned person, as perhaps, an auditor of the Rota. If the affair were thus examined, then finally the Papal Vicar might give judgment, whereby all scandal would be avoided.

It does not seem from this that he positively refused the written assurance she asked; but it is almost certain that he could not give it fully, in all sincerity. She and her kinsmen spoke openly against him and his Society. It was more for her interest than his own that he proposed this appeal to a private tribunal, as the result proved. At first, after he had prevailed with the Señora Roser, the others accepted the proposal, and it was laid before Cardinal Carpi, who heard both parties upon oath; but the Roser family, probably foreseeing the inquiry would go against them, carried it before the Pope's Vicar-substitute, who was well disposed towards Isabel. Afterwards, having looked into the business, he was

forced to see that she was in the wrong, and imposed absolute silence on her for the future as to her claims on Ignatius.

When all was over, the Vicar-substitute acknowledged that the tears of Señora Isabel had inclined him to protect her, till he was better informed. Her kinsman, Francis Ferrar, doctor of Barcelona, who had spoken injuriously of the Jesuits, was sentenced to ask forgiveness, and the judge declared he inflicted no heavier punishment, because Ferrar had already recalled his accusations in the presence of the persons to whom he first made them. Ignatius acted with the utmost consideration towards his changeful friend; he forbade his people in Spain to say anything about the dispute, unless it were necessary for truth's sake; and it is believed that some remains of his correspondence in later years were addressed to her. June 2,
1547.

The monastic relations of Ignatius with the Chartreux had been entirely fraternal; but he was not always so fortunate—he had sometimes to revive the rule in communities which had become relaxed and unfaithful to the spirit of their foundation; he had begun already, as we have seen, by reforming a community near Barcelona, at the hazard of his life. Borgia, when he was made viceroy of Catalonia, wishing to imitate him, designed a general reform of all nunneries in his province, especially at Barcelona, and laid his schemes before Philip, who in 1546 applied to Ignatius to procure the necessary powers from Rome. These were immediately granted for the town, and two years later for the province. 1546.

Father Araoz, provincial of Spain, was intrusted with the exercise of these Papal powers. The reform of the convents of Catalonia began vigorously in 1547, but it progressed slowly, and we find it not complete in 1552.

The Œcumenic Council so long talked of and delayed, which was to settle the disputes of Christendom, assembled at last in the border town of Trent, in the winter of 1545, and entered on its work of discussion and reform in the following January. None such had been held since that of Constance in 1417. The Council now opened was not ended in less than eighteen years—for very long the last, and

perhaps most remarkable, of these Christian parliaments. So many bishops were kept away by the political disturbances of the times, that though the invitations were œcumenic, many persons refused that title to the Council itself. But there were enough distinguished men present to do excellently well the work intended for it.

The august assembly was presided over by three legates : Cardinal del Monte, afterwards Julius III.; Marcello Cervini, who was Pope for a few weeks as Marcellus II.; and the illustrious Reginald Pole. Two other cardinals, Madrucci, bishop of Trent, and Paceco,¹ bishop of Jaen, both learned men, were there, and a goodly company of ambassadors, archbishops, bishops, abbots, superiors of orders, doctors in theology, and theologians of the Dominicans, Friars Minor, conventuals, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Servites—a name that recalls the unfair statements of Father Paolo Sarpi in his history of the Council.² Domini Soto, general of the Dominicans, and the Emperor's first theologian, Du Vega, Remius, Catharin³ and Hervet were among them; Olaus Magnus, archbishop of Upsal; Wancop, the blind archbishop of Armagh; Du Prat, bishop of Clermont; Seripandi,⁴ senior of the Eremites, of St. Augustine; Pierre Dunes, a famous French orator. In the morning they considered the dogmas of the Catholic faith, and in the afternoon the reforms required in Church discipline; beginning with residence of bishops, and going on to other matters of high importance and difficulty.

¹ Paceco was highly esteemed in Spain, and having been raised to the bishopric of Jaen, and then made cardinal by Paul III., he was named viceroy of Naples after the death of Toledo, in 1553; he ruled there with such mildness, and procured so many favours from the Emperor for the Neapolitans, that they greatly loved and venerated him.

² Pallavicini, in the history he published in 1665, quotes three hundred and sixty-one mis-representations of Sarpi, besides many more not capable of being definitely numbered, but resulting from his general tone and style.

³ This was Fra Antonio Polito, of Sienna, a Dominican, once a lawyer: he took this name in reverence to St. Catherine of Sienna.

⁴ Seripandi had great weight in the councils of Charles V., and he obtained important privileges for the Neapolitans in 1554, which Cardinal Paceco made highly valuable to them. All excessive and peremptory proceedings against heretics, and the terrible application of 'the question,' were henceforth forbidden. Giannone calls him 'uomo dottissimo, di probità di vita, nelle prediche mirabile, e sopra tutto dotato di somma saviezza e prudenza.' He was made Cardinal-Archbishop of Salerno.

Le Jay was present, representing Otto Truchses, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Augsberg.¹ Laynez and Salmeron did not arrive till the 18th of May, sent thither as theologians of the Holy See—a high distinction, which imposed on them the duty of speaking first and last in the discussions. Salmeron began. In his history of the Council of Trent, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Lyons relates of them that they gave at once proofs of such profound humility and such vast merit, that their office of Papal theologians appeared their least claim to respect. Several prelates chose them for directors, and many others would speak on no subject without consulting them. They conformed strictly to the following instructions given by Ignatius:—

‘As we may glorify God by His favour assisting us, when we strive for the good of souls in our intercourse with a large number of persons, all having a spiritual object; so also if we do not watch over ourselves, and if we are not helped by Him, we shall lose much, and do harm to those with whom we converse. But since the way of life to which we have bound ourselves obliges us not to shun such intercourse, we shall find it profitable in the Lord, in proportion as we are prepared beforehand and follow an exact rule. Therefore I will give you some counsels which may be useful in the Lord, whether you follow them literally or retrench them in some sense. Generally speaking, I earnestly desire that in the exercise of this new employment, you should never lose sight of these three principal points.

‘1st.—In the Council, the greater glory of God and the welfare of the Universal Church.

‘2nd.—Out of the Council, your original rule and method of saving souls, which is the object I have principally proposed to myself in this mission.

‘3rd.—The special care of your own souls, that you may not forget and neglect yourselves, but on the contrary, strive, by assiduous watchfulness, to make yourselves daily more worthy of your vocation.

‘In the Council you must be slow, rather than prompt, in speaking, considerate and charitable in your opinions of what

¹ Le Jay was called by St. Francis of Sales ‘The Pharos of the Society.’ He was, like the good bishop, a native of Annecy.

is done or intended, attentive and calm in listening, taking pains to seize the spirit, desires and intentions of those who speak, so that you may better see when to speak or be silent. In the matters which will be discussed, you must state the reasons on both sides, so as not to appear attached to your own opinion. You must always, as far as you can, contrive that no one shall be less disposed to peace after hearing your discourses than he was before. If the points controverted are such as oblige you to speak, express your opinions modestly and calmly; conclude always "with deference to better judgments," or some such phrase. Lastly, be well persuaded of this, that to treat worthily of really important subjects, whether human or divine, it is very necessary to discuss them with composure and deliberation, not in haste, or in a cursory manner. You should therefore not make the order and time of the discussion suit your leisure and convenience, but accommodate the person who wishes to argue with you, so that he may the more easily be guided whither God would lead him.

‘ Out of the Council neglect no means of doing good to your neighbour. Rather seek occasions of hearing confessions, preaching, giving the "Exercises," instructing children, visiting the poor in the hospitals, so that the grace of the Holy Spirit may descend more abundantly on the Fathers of the Council, as you will call it down in these acts of humility and charity. In your sermons, avoid the points controverted by the heretics, but aim always at moral reform, and enforce obedience to the Catholic Church. You must also speak often of the Council, and exhort the people to pray for its fortunate result. In hearing confessions, think that all you say to your penitents may be heard upon the house-tops. For penance, desire them to say prayers for the Council. In giving the "Exercises," at all times speak as you would in public. You will visit the hospitals alternately every four days, that is to say, each of you once a week, at times that will not be inconvenient for the sick. You will comfort them as far as you can, not by words only, but also by little gifts. Though in answering questions it is needful to use concise and well-considered language, it is on the contrary desirable to speak with some amplification and with a show of benevolence when you want to excite in your hearers a spirit of piety.

'As to the last point, which concerns your own selves, and your protection from the evils to which you will be exposed. And although you must never neglect what belongs especially to the Institute, you must remember beyond all things, to preserve the most perfect union and entire agreement among yourselves, in thought and opinion. Let neither of you trust in his own prudence exclusively; and as Claude Le Jay, whom the Cardinal of Augsburg sends to the Council as procurator, will join you in a few days, you will fix a time every evening to confer on what you have done during the day, and have to do to-morrow. You will decide on the subject of your consultations either by vote or in some other way. In the morning you will deliberate together on the plan of action for the day. You will also twice a day make your examination of conscience. You will put this into execution at latest on the fifth day after your arrival at Trent.'

Salmeron being as yet but thirty-one years old, and Laynez thirty-four, they must in that assembly have been by comparison young men; they appeared therefore with the utmost humility of demeanour, as well as dress; their clothes, very clean, but patched, shocked the other clergy, and they did not refuse to wear the new garments which their Spanish compatriots gave them. In the intervals of JULY. their work at the Council, they instructed, heard confessions, begged alms for the poor, and attended them as Ignatius directed in the hospitals; they collected alms in this way for more than seventy persons, and Cardinal Santa Croce made over to their care the soldiers who had returned disabled from the German war, on their way to Italy. These works of charity must have greatly impressed the dignitaries who witnessed this way of life, contrasted with the profound learning of these men and their office of Papal theologians.

Laynez, whose memory was a wonder, received the charge of recapitulating the daily discussions, and presenting the *résumé*. And he received the remarkable compliment of having a place appointed him in the centre of the bishops' seats, that all might hear him.

On May 25, the question of original sin being brought forward, the Jesuits defended the immaculate conception of the Holy Virgin. Cardinal Paceco was furnished by them with the chief part of the proofs he used on that side. But

after much dispute it was agreed to defer this part of the question for the present, and the same was done when it was revived in the session following, because there were three or four of different opinions. None present suggested the idea, that the nature from which our Lord took His humanity could ever have been subject to sin. The doubt some persons started was, whether the Holy Virgin could be said to be pure from her birth only, or from the moment of her conception. Melchior Cano was among the dissentients.

The Council almost from its opening was harassed by alarms from without and discord within: strife and wrath sometimes banished discussion; the Bishop of Cava having, in a passion, seized the Bishop of Chiron by the beard, was excommunicated by the Council. Soon after, Cardinal del Monte, the president, offended by Paceco and Madrucci, told them he would no longer allow them to sit near the legates, as they had done till now. Paceco, enraged at this, made an indignant reply, and several Fathers interposed. Tagliavia, archbishop of Palermo, kneeling before the three cardinals, with his hands clasped and tears in his eyes, entreated them to suppress their resentments for the love of Christ and the honour of the Council. This was effectual for the moment, and an adjournment was decided on; Paceco made an apology to Del Monte, who acknowledged it only by an inclination of the head; Madrucci followed Paceco, but receiving only the same silent reply, burst into a rage. Del Monte said that he would retire into Italy, where no one could dictate to him; and this prepared the Fathers for a suggestion which the Pope and legates intended to make at the first opportunity.

‘The Council continued to sit at Trent till the said Paul, for certain reasons (Heaven grant that they were good ones), wished to transfer it to Bologna,’ says the Emperor Charles V. And a few days later a message came, in which Paul proposed the translation of the Council to Lucca, alleging that the prelates complained of the sharp climate of Trent, its bad accommodations, and the danger from Protestant forces. But the Emperor heard the proposal with a burst of fury. The Lucchese themselves objected to receive the prelates, and the heretics were defeated in the Tyrol; this

allayed the fears of the Fathers for their personal safety, and the sittings were resumed as before.

Ignatius had wished to recal Laynez and restore him to the Florentines, when the rumour of the removal of the Council first reached him. The thorny subject of justification had been now entered upon. Ignatius writes at this time to Michel Torrez:—

I cannot withdraw Master Laynez from the Council till the decree on justification is carried through. It seems his Holiness desires this decree to be considered at Rome as well as at Trent, by learned theologians, for Cardinal Maffei told me he would send it to us to be examined. Our people at the Council have just received a new favour: the legates have given Laynez a permission hitherto unprecedented; he is allowed to preach in the town. He was to begin last Sunday, and the letter, of which I send you a copy, informs me that he actually did.

The statement of the Jesuit Fathers on justification was given by Claude Le Jay: 'Faith is the free gift of God, and through it men obtain justification.'

Cardinal Santa Croce wrote to Ignatius:—

Reverend Father, Master Ignatius,—You will be surprised perhaps that I have detained Master Diego Laynez longer here than you desired. I have done this for the public advantage. I have charged him to collect all the errors of heretics on the Sacraments, as well as other dogmas, which are to be condemned in the Council. Now as this work is long and tedious, I did not like to spare the Father Laynez until I had finished it, or so nearly that another person might easily do the rest. This requires time, and I beg you to be propitiated by the confidence I place in you and him. Nevertheless I would not act contrary to your views. If you prefer that he should leave the work incomplete, you shall be obeyed; you have only to write word to me. Heaven keep you in its grace.—Your devoted, MARCELLO, Cardinal of Sta. Croce.

Trent, Feb. 5, 1547.

Laynez remained and did admirably all that was required of him.

In the decree at last given, justification is declared to be 1547.
'the effect of charity, infused by the Holy Spirit into our hearts.' It was admitted that there was no grace without

charity, or the constant love of God ; but they avoided jarring on the opinions of those who consider them actually distinct, though conjoined. They were unanimous, therefore, in affirming that the law of the Gospel is one of love.

The questions of reform in the Church were then to be considered, and the next session was fixed for April 21 ; but a fever broke out in the city of Trent, which invaded the Council and carried off among its first victims the general of the Friars Minors and the Bishop of Cappacio. Twelve of the Fathers fled, and on March 9 the legates assembled the others, and proposed to dissolve the Council, but remitted the decision to the majority.

The subjects of Charles, in accordance with his orders, insisted on remaining, and the discussion was adjourned till the next day, when Del Monte proposed a removal to Bologna, and produced the Pope's permission. The party of Charles resisted as before, but the others were for the most part exceedingly impatient to leave Trent, and on March 12 the legates departed for Bologna, where they could not for some months assemble Fathers enough to carry on the session. Paul was, or affected to be, displeased that the legates had not remained two months longer at Trent, which would have sufficed to conclude the several discussions. Charles was outrageous ; he demanded that the legates should return to Trent, and forbade his own bishops to leave it ; but the occurrences now passing in France arrested these disputes. The King became suddenly and dangerously ill, and died a few days after. His successor, Henry II., showed much reverence to the Pope, and even consented to affiance his daughter Diana to Orazio Farnese, the grandson, or great nephew as he was called, of Paul.

March 31,
1547.

Salmeron had caught the fever in Trent, was arrested by it at Verona, and Laynez would not leave him. They believed the prayers of Ignatius wrought his cure. A letter full of affection remains written by Salmeron to Ignatius at this time. They arrived at Bologna about the middle of April, and before the end of it they received news of the decisive victory of Muhlberg, which concluded the war and preserved Austria for the Church of Rome.

At Bologna Laynez received a letter from Ignatius, expressing his desire of transferring his office of general to Laynez, or some one else. His health had been long very infirm, broken by a hard life and long fasts; his patience had been greatly tried; the attacks that have been mentioned seemed indeed as if they were the malice of individuals only, but many were known to share in it; those who desired to emancipate their evil lives from the control of Christianity or who secretly encouraged the new heresies, wished to put down the Jesuits or diminish their popularity; and all the long-suffering, judgment, and decision of Ignatius were needed to carry him through these impediments; but he triumphed at last. After the recantation of Francis Ferrar we hear no more of similar accusations. All seem to have admitted, silently at least, that the lives of the Jesuits were blameless, their charity and teaching admirable; but it is no wonder that Ignatius desired to withdraw from a position which exposed him to such struggles. He had many motives for wishing to exchange his charge as general for a retirement such as his soul loved; he wrote in the spring of 1547 to Laynez, then at Bologna:—

If the company will consent to it, or only half its members, I give 1547.
you my voice, if it can be of any weight, and place in your hands, willingly, and with great joy of heart, the charge I now hold; and not only I choose you as being worthy, but if you refuse, I will name any one that you or the others may point out; for I think, if it were settled in this manner, it would work for the greater service, praise, and honour of God our Lord, and for the greater spiritual comfort of my soul, in His Divine Majesty; and I certainly wish also, to speak openly, that I may be allowed to lay down this burden and live in the practice of humility; and as I now entirely set aside my own small judgment, I agree, and always will agree, as I hope, to whatever you or the Society, or a part of them, may decide; and whatever is so decided on, that I approve and confirm, through these presents, which I have written with my own hand.

From deference to his wish the Fathers assembled and put the question to the vote; it was rejected unanimously.

The decision touched Ignatius very painfully; his disease grew worse, he hoped that death might bring him freedom; but it was not time yet, he was wanted for the further de-

velopment of his work; and God when He kept him in life, required him to bear the yoke a little farther.

Ignatius resigned himself, and went on patiently to meet new opponents and new cares.

The battle of Muhlberg wholly changed the aspect of affairs. The Imperial army, worn out by long contests with the Protestant powers, was recently diminished, as Charles V. relates himself, because 'it happened precisely at this time that Pope Paul, in addition to all the evil things he had done already . . . recalled all his Italian soldiers.' But the consequences were in no way disadvantageous to the Emperor, and left him greater freedom to reap the fruits of his victory. Bobadilla was present at this battle; he had been removed by the Pope's Nuncio to Vienna from Cologne, where for a long while he helped Canisius to defend the faith against a divided people and a half-Lutheran archbishop. Then Ferdinand sent him to accompany the army commanded by Ottavio Farnese, and the sick and wounded were under his care; he stimulated the religious zeal of the soldiers, and seems himself even to have caught something of the warrior spirit, considering this contest doubtless to be a crusade.

On April 23 he was among the first to cross the Elbe; and a mist rising from the river favoured Charles's troops, and allowed them to approach close to the enemy unperceived. The next day they dispersed the rebels, and took Duke John Frederic of Saxony and Ernest of Brunswick prisoners; and once more Charles felt himself 'one of the two heads of the Christian Church.' In the battle Bobadilla fell, wounded in the head, but not severely; in a few days he was preaching at Passau, where the majority were Protestant; nevertheless, they did not venture to refuse the *Te Deum* which Bobadilla demanded for the Imperial victory.

He then proceeded rapidly through Augsburg and Cologne to Louvain, where the college founded by Faber was beginning to flourish.

Everywhere, as he went, he disputed and preached, en-

April 24,
1547.

1548.

countered both Lutherans and Anabaptists, and returned to the Court of Charles just as he was publishing the decree 1548. which excited so much praise and censure under the title of the Interim. This was a formal permission to use certain privileges claimed by the Protestants until the General Council had come to a decision upon the points questioned. Amongst them were included the marriage of priests and the giving of the cup to the laity. Bobadilla was indignant; he announced the most daring opposition, even in the presence of the Emperor himself; and Charles, not less indignant, ordered him to leave the Court, but he did this not offensively, and gave him money for his journey.¹ Bobadilla returned to Rome, and found no disapprobation at the Vatican. The Cardinal Morone excused Charles, and dissuaded the Pope from making any complaint; but Ignatius would not allow Bobadilla to enter the house—he was displeased at the audacity with which he had bearded his Sovereign, and proclaimed to all Christendom that the Emperor was but a lukewarm Catholic. Perhaps the 'Spirito infocato' of Bobadilla had led him beyond the moderation imposed upon the company of Jesus, especially as the anger of Charles might seriously affect the progress which the Society was making everywhere in his dominions. In fact, its enemies took advantage of this occurrence, and commenced those accusations so often reiterated afterwards against the Jesuits, of dictating to monarchs and attempting to control their power. Yet the care Ignatius took to avoid giving offence to the higher authorities was almost excessive. He was once exceeding displeased with Girolamo Otelli, for introducing the name of the Pope too presumptuously into a sermon. Otelli, declaiming against the vices of the Roman people, said, 'If the love and fear of God could not control them, the Sovereign Pontiff ought to have recourse to punishment, and drive the guilty persons from the city.' Ignatius summoned Otelli, and asked him, 'How many Popes are there in the world?' 'None besides the Bishop of Rome,' replied Otelli. 'How then,' said Ignatius,

¹ The Interim was not universally pleasing to the Protestant party; Bucer refused to sign. In all Germany Bobadilla was the only Catholic who wrote or spoke openly against it.

‘do you presume to make mention from the pulpit of a person so exalted, and even speak of his conduct as if you could judge what he ought to do? Leave me and consider before God what punishment you deserve. You will come this evening and bring me your answer.’

When Otelli returned, he threw himself at the feet of Ignatius and gave him a paper, in which he proposed to go through the streets of Rome, flagellating himself, many days; to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem barefoot; to taste nothing but bread and water for years; and submit himself to whatever further satisfaction Ignatius thought fit to impose. His humility appeased his Father, who only gave him some penance in the house by way of example.

1548.

A more dispassionate judgment than Otelli's once offended Ignatius in the same manner. Laynez, preaching to the Spaniards at San Paolo, said something of the sin of simony, which might have been thought applicable to some recent transactions of the Pope, and this incurred a severe reprimand.

Otelli's zeal was perhaps sometimes indiscreet, but it had immense effect on the people, and he converted large numbers. When Ignatius sent him from Rome to Sicily he was mourned for as an apostle. The day after his departure, when Ignatius, saying the Confiteor at mass, came to the words ‘*mea maxima culpa*,’ an old woman called out, ‘Yes, Father Ignatius, you may well call it a sin, to deprive Rome of so holy and useful a man as Father Girolamo.’

1547.

It was towards the close of the year 1546 that Pietro Ferri, of Padua, a benefactor of the company, arrived in Rome, was seized with a fever, and after three months was given over as dying. Ignatius visited and comforted him; and at last told him he could never recover except through the intercession of the Mother of God. The following night a vision was vouchsafed to Ferri, and he awoke cured. Ignatius came next day, knowing all that had happened.

The news of the victory of Muhlberg may possibly have been received with less joy at Rome than at Vienna. For Paul now had against him the Emperor, Milan and Naples,

Florence and the Medici, Genoa, and the Dorias. On his side were the Farnesi family, the Orsini and Henry II.

But an unthought of and overwhelming calamity was about to fall on him. On September 10, his son (or *nephew*), Pier Luigi, for whom he had striven so perseveringly, and done so much wrong, attacked in Piacenza by the Ghibelline party, who were hostile to the Pope, and encouraged by Gonzagua, governor of Milan, and probably by Charles himself, died under their blows.

Only that morning Paul had come to the Consistory in more than usually high spirits, 'talking of his good fortune,' says Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, 'and comparing himself to the Emperor Tiberias.' He believed that Charles and Gonzagua were the real murderers; but they declared that they intended only that Pier should be taken prisoner, sparing his life. At least their enmity to the Pope was now apparent; so Paul sought the protection of France, and desired to hasten the marriage of Orazio Farnese with the Princess Diana. RANKL.

It seems as if some compunction had now visited him, in respect of the duchies with which he had enriched his family, to the diminution of the territory of St. Peter, for he endeavoured to retrace his steps, and restore Parma to the Church. He trusted that the docility and gratitude of his children, which he had often boasted of, would make this restitution easy, but on the contrary, they now considered themselves independent princes, refused obedience to his orders, and helped without shame to accumulate sorrows on his aged head.

Charles V. condoled with Paul, but kept Piacenza; he promised him, however, a compensation of 40,000 crowns annually.

When the Pope heard of the publication of the Interim, he expected the secession of Germany would follow that of England. He recalled the Nuncio Sfondrato, who had failed to deter Charles from making these concessions, and replaced him by Bertano, bishop of Fano, with whom he sent Lippomani, and the Bishop of Ferrentino, empowered to grant large dispensations, and condescend beyond all pre- May 15,
1548.

cedent to those who wished on easy terms to be reunited to Rome. They might re-admit heretics without a public abjuration; restore monks or nuns to their congregation, or allow them to remain in the world, on the only condition of retaining, under ordinary garments, some sign of their former profession. Under certain circumstances they might absolve from vows; they could allow communion in both kinds, privately, to lay persons, if these would confess that the contrary practice is not an error. Those who held church property, if they restored it, were not required to pay back the rents already received; and many indulgences might be granted in respect of the Lent fasts.

This was certainly more than could have been asked. Even when the Emperor required also that the Papal envoys should have authority to allow the marriage of monks and nuns, and to leave the church property in the hands of those who had taken forcible possession, Paul did not at once reject the proposal, but said he must retain such extraordinary powers in his own hands; promising that he would use it with moderation, if in either case good reasons were set before him.

But the mission of the nuncios did no more than show the condescension of the Pope; few applied for these indulgences; those who needed them had already emancipated themselves from all control of the Church.

Camillo
Orsino.

The afflictions of Paul now approached their climax. Ottavio refused to resign Parma; Orsino, placed there by Paul, repulsed his attempts to regain possession. Ottavio, with cruel audacity, declared he would unite his party to that of Gonzagua, governor of Milan, his brother's murderer, and obtain the aid of the Imperial forces. His friends even spoke of driving Paul from the throne, and placing Charles there, as sovereign of Rome. When the aged Pope poured out his griefs into the ear of Cardinal d'Este, he added, that his only consolation now was in his nephew, the Cardinal Alessandro; he at least, Paul knew, was loving and loyal to him. But he soon discovered that the Cardinal had taken part with the other Farnesi. Paul, thus deserted by the whole of the family to whom he had been the most lavish of benefactors, went to his vigna on Monte Cavallo, where he sent for his nephew, reproached him for his treachery, became so irri-

tated that he tore the¹ cardinal's cap from off his head, and dashed it on the ground. The agitation was too much for the old man; he survived but a few days. During his short illness he condemned himself for his excess of paternal tenderness; he repeated often these words of David :—

'Si mei non fuerint dominati tunc immaculatus ero, et emundabor à delicto maximo.'

He died on November 10, 1549. When his body was opened, it was found in excellent health; only 'three drops of clotted blood on the heart' showed that he had died literally broken-hearted of indignation and grief.

The Romans, who respected him, and hated the other Farnesi, were profoundly touched to see that his ungrateful children had brought this woeful termination to a successful and honoured life. No Pope, for a long while, had been so popular in Rome; none had stood forward with such dignity in the sight of Europe as a peace-maker between kings, and an arbiter among hostile opinions; none had done so much for the internal reform of the Church. His subjects loved him; he possessed that polished eloquence and classic learning which the Italians prized so highly; he was noble in his manners, accessible, kind, and generous; his high spirit, the pride of his Roman descent, and his excessive desire to exalt his own family, sometimes interfered with that wise and zealous patriotism which in better moments impelled his acts; nor can we reconcile ourselves in these days to the hardly veiled acknowledgment of an illegitimate family, which the laxity of clerical life in high places could not even then excuse.² But, with all these allowances, it is difficult to consider Paul as he is portrayed even by Protestant authorities, and yet the object of those 'brutish bellowings' with which Luther constantly attacked him, without wondering that honest or rational men should regard such a partisan with any milder feeling than disgust.³

¹ 'Il criait tant qu'on l'entendait.'

² Orlandini speaks of the Farnesi at Parma as '*privati, quibus fuisse dicitur aliqua cum Romano Pontifice necessitudo.*'

³ Abbé Berthier, in his '*Histoire de l'Église gallicane,*' says, Paul was '*plein de force et de lumière dans les conseils, égal dans tous les événemens, toujours prêt à récompenser le mérite, amateur des lettres, humain dans ses jugemens, noble dans ses manières.*'

Paul gave proof of his sagacity and sincerity when he admitted Ignatius to a large part in Church reform ; and the rapid advancement and wide activity of the company of Jesus were owing in a great degree to the acuteness which discerned and the piety which welcomed this small army of martyrs ready to live and die for the faith. The Jesuits lost in him an earnest friend. But henceforward the Popes were always conscientiously chosen ; they were men who sincerely desired the welfare of the Church, and to the close of his life Ignatius found always a patron in the chair of St. Peter.

He said no more of resigning his generalship till the Fathers assembled at Rome for the Jubilee of 1550 ; then he laid before them the Constitutions he had drawn up ; for at every step, in the forming and consolidating his Society, he desired the aid and concurrence of its members ; their assent to what he had done, and their suggestions of improvement, so that the work might remain without room for alteration when once completed, and that no differences of country, customs, or characters, should necessitate dispensations or exceptions, which he thought injurious, and by all means to be avoided. Not only those who could come to Rome (Layneze and Borgia among the rest), but those at a distance were consulted, and at this time some trifling additions seem to have been made. Three years after, he sent these rules to Spain and Portugal, not as necessarily permanent, but, as it were, upon trial, intending that the whole should again be examined and approved by the entire company, which did not happen till after his death, when the general congregation was summoned to choose his successor. Then the Constitutions were revived, discussed, and entirely confirmed, with profound veneration for their author. They were afterwards presented to Paul IV., who approved and sanctioned them without the alteration of a word.

In the meanwhile these rules were in constant operation among the brethren, who learned them from their Father himself. A letter from him to Laynez shows that he enjoined certain observances to the Provincials. He orders particularly that the forty days of instruction each year should never be omitted, remembering, perhaps, the opposition of

Bobadilla; he also enforced his directions respecting the clothes they should wear, which, he repeated, ought to resemble the ordinary garb of priests, according to the country they were in, and in no way to attract attention.

Layneze esteemed these rules so highly, that he said 'the Constitutions of Father Ignatius would alone suffice to reform and govern all the religious orders in the Church.'

When Faber was taken, it pleased God to intimate to Ignatius that his loss should be compensated by an acquisition now at hand. Francis de Borgia, long friendly to the Society, wrote to him from Gandia that he desired to join it, and Ignatius understanding this to be a divine guidance, willingly accepted him. Francis had taken at Grenada a vow that if he survived his young wife he would devote himself wholly to God. And now Eleanor was dead. 1548.

At Gandia was a university whither Ignatius had sent some novices under Oviedo, to whom Borgia became much attached. He heard from him of Ignatius; he had written to Rome to ask his advice on the subject of frequent communion, then a novelty, and which the Jesuits greatly practised and recommended. But a pious mind like Borgia's would easily be deterred by scruples of humility. They had thus occasionally corresponded for more than a year. Perhaps he remembered the day when, in the streets of Alcalá, followed by his lordly train, he met Ignatius led to prison; he earnestly desired now to make that poor prisoner his master and guide. When the 'Spiritual Exercises' had been approved by Paul III. he would not wait longer, but wrote to Ignatius, praying that he might be admitted into the company of Jesus.

Ignatius answered thus:—

Most Illustrious Señor,—The resolution you have taken, which is inspired by Divine grace, gives me great joy. May the angels and all the blessed spirits eternally thank God for this, in Heaven, for we cannot sufficiently praise Him on earth for the favour he has shown this small Society, in calling you to enter it. I hope that His Divine providence will make your admission very advantageous to your spiritual advancement, and that of many, who will profit by this example. For us, who are already members of the

company of Jesus, excited by your fervour, we shall begin anew to serve the Divine Father who has sent us such a brother, and chosen such a labourer for this new vineyard, whereof He has willed, unworthy as I am, that I should have the charge. Therefore, I receive you at once, in the Lord's name, for our brother, and in this relation you will always be very dear to me, as one ought to be who enters into the House of God with such generosity as you have shown, in order to serve Him perfectly. As to what you ask me, respecting the time and manner of your public reception, after having much recommended the matter to God, both by myself and others, it appears to me, that in order to acquit yourself of all obligations, the change should be made leisurely and cautiously, to the greater glory of our Lord. So that you may gradually arrange your affairs in such a manner, that without any secular interference, you may, before long, find yourself free from all impediments to your holy wishes. To explain further, and with more detail, I think that, as your daughters are old enough to marry, you should seek to dispose of them according to their quality, and that you should also affiancé the marquis, if a suitable person can be found. For your other sons, it is not sufficient that they have the protection of their elder brother, who will possess the dukedom; you must also leave them enough to complete their studies in one of the universities, and to live suitably in the world. No doubt, if they are such characters as they should be, and as I hope, the Emperor will favour them in proportion to your services, and the friendship he has always shown you. Moreover you ought to push on the buildings you have begun, for I wish all your family affairs to be terminated, when your change is made known. But as you are well grounded in letters, I would have you apply diligently to the study of theology, and I hope this science will be useful to you, for the service of God. I should even like, if possible, that you should take a doctor's degree in your University of Gandia. But as the world cannot understand actions like this, I would have it done privately, and remain a secret, till time and circumstances, by the grace of God, set us at liberty. Other things may be arranged from day to day, as they occur, and as I shall write you regularly I need say no more now. I wait for a speedy answer, and I pray the Supreme Goodness to bestow on you more and more of His Divine mercies.

1548.

Feb. 1548, The Pope gave leave for the ceremony of Borgia's admission without coming to Rome, and Araoz received his vows privately, in the chapel of his palace at Gandia. He was now Brother Francis in the Society, but he continued in the eyes of the world such as he was before; administered his

large revenues, and provided for his children. A second letter from Ignatius at this time shows his remarkable prudence in counselling ascetic exercises. He writes:—

When I learned your practices in spiritual things, as well as in external, for the profit of your soul, I found truly a new cause for rejoicing in the Lord. . . . Yet as I remark, in our Lord, that some of these are needful at one time and not at another, and . . . even become useless, I wish to tell you, in the presence of the Divine Majesty, what I think on this subject, since your lordship asks my opinion. First, for the time you have fixed for exercises, either interior or external, I think you might abridge half. . . . For as you no longer want so many arms to conquer the enemy, I think, in our Lord, that you would do better if you devote half this time to governing your estate, to profitable conversation, and to study But keep your soul at the same time in peace and repose, ready to receive the communications of our Lord, for it is a great virtue and grace when we can enjoy Him in many employments and places. . . . Secondly, as to fasting and abstinence, I think it more for the glory of God to preserve and strengthen the digestion and natural powers than to weaken them; . . . I desire then that you will consider that, as soul and body are given you by God your Creator and Master, you will have to give account of both, and for His sake you should not weaken your bodily nature, because the spiritual could not (then) act with the same energy. If I was pleased once to see you fast . . . rigorously, I cannot be so in future, because I see that this fasting and abstinence prevent the stomach from . . . even digesting the simple aliments necessary to sustain life. I rather advise you to eat of all permitted food, and as often as you are hungry, giving no offence to your neighbour, for we ought to love the body, and wish it well, when it obeys and assists the soul; and thus the soul has . . . more strength and energy to serve and glorify our Creator and Master.

As to the third point—of personal penances—I desire you for our Lord's sake to avoid drawing the smallest drop of blood. And if hitherto you have received, as I believe, a special grace and attraction for this and all the penances I have spoken of, I do not hesitate to assert, without giving proofs of it, that you will do better to omit these things in future. . . .

And St. Ignatius goes on to recommend him to seek from God 'an active faith, hope, charity, spiritual joy and peace, tears and consolations, the lifting up of the soul, pious impressions and enlightenments, all in subordination to the humble

reverence we should have for our holy mother the Church and her teachers and administrators. For there is not one of these gifts which ought not to be preferred to any corporeal acts; which are good only as they assist to obtain the others.' He thinks 'a sound mind in a sound body . . . is the most useful instrument wherewith to serve God,' but he will not enter into particulars, leaving Borgia rather to the guidance which has hitherto led him, 'for the greater glory of the Divine Majesty.'

It was not known that he had joined the company till an attempt to impose on him the dignity of cardinal was made at Rome in 1550. He lived meanwhile at Gandia, closely allied with Oviedo, and shared the displeasure Ignatius expressed, when Oviedo, desirous to advance his soul's interests in solitude, asked leave to lay down for seven years the charge of the college, and retire into a desert, near a holy hermit, whose piety he thought would assist his own. Francis Onfroy, a professor of the new college, desired to accompany him. Ignatius was exceedingly wroth at this, because the design showed a spirit quite at variance with that of the order of Jesus. Borgia, too, had brought from Barcelona a Franciscan, named Texeda, who had the same turn of mind; and Ignatius suspected Brother Francis of having at least not discouraged the designs of the two Jesuits. He bade him therefore, through Polanco, send Oviedo to Rome, and Onfroy to join Salmeron at Ferrara. Borgia answered that he did not think this necessary, because the two religious were quite submissive; and that he had himself represented to Oviedo that the life to which he had devoted himself in the company of Jesus, did not deprive him of the merits of the contemplative life. Ignatius would not insist, but still angry, wrote again to Borgia on July 27:—

If we can believe what we hear, it seems that the two Fathers B. and C., one more and the other less, have found the desert they were looking for, and are about to retire into another, which may prove larger than the first, if they will not humble themselves and allow themselves to be guided, as each ought to do, according to his vocation. The remedies they are in need of may be supplied to them, either directly or indirectly, by him who has the determination and the power. The first of these consist in prayer

and the holy sacrament of the mass, which we shall offer to the Divine Goodness, but the others will be administered some other way, by the help of Divine grace. Your lordship may do much in this case by your presence and authority. Moreover, I know what my conscience imposes on me. I firmly believe, with no possibility of doubt, and I solemnly affirm before the tribunal of Christ, our Creator and Master, who will one day judge us for eternity, that these religious are wandering from the way, that they are mistaken and misled, walking sometimes in the (right) path and sometimes out of it, prevented by the father of lies, who sets forward or suggests one or many truths in order to finish by an imposture, and make us fall into it. In this conviction I pray your lordship, for the love and reverence of God our Lord, first to recommend all this affair to His goodness; then to observe matters attentively, to watch, and take all necessary measures, not suffering anything which might cause a scandal, which would be extremely injurious to us all; but so ordering that all may be amended, as it may please God in all things which concern Him, and that these Fathers may be entirely amended, for his greater service, His praise and His glory for ever.

Rome, July 27, 1549.

Oviedo satisfied Ignatius so well that, as we have seen, he was nominated a bishop for Ethiopia a few years afterwards.

Wilhelm, Duke of Bavaria, in the year 1549, requested Pope Paul III., that he would give him two professors of theology for the University of Ingoldstadt, where Le Jay had taught it long before; and the Pope sent the Cardinals Maffei and Santa Croce to make this known to Ignatius. He answered that the religious of his order might be more profitably employed for the general good than in these temporary appointments; but if the Duke desired to do an important service to religion, he might follow the example of the King of Portugal, who, beginning with only two missionaries, had established a seminary in his country from whence already 250 priests had issued, to carry civilization and religion all over his dominions. If he agreed to this, Ignatius would gladly send two priests, as the Duke desired.

The Pope and cardinals thought this proposal reasonable. Duke Wilhelm accepted it, and Ignatius summoned Canisius and Salmeron from Messina, where Canisius was professor of

rhetoric, and Salmeron of theology. At Rome Canisius took the fourth vow.

The college of Messina had been opened the year before. Le Jay was sent to Bavaria with the others, at the express wish of the Duke. They were to take their doctor's degree at Bologna, on their way to Germany, the title being there much valued. They carried with them this letter from Ignatius:—

Along with this epistle will arrive, by order of the holy Father, the two theologians I have been asked for by letter. One is Alphonso Salmeron, a Spaniard, the other Peter Canisius of Guel-dres; both called from Sicily. They are both excellent in the integrity of their life, as in their knowledge of the sacred books and all learning worthy of Christian men. They are priests of the Society known by the name and title of Jesus. Our holy Father does not doubt that they will both entirely answer the wishes of your Excellency; and teach in those large provinces not less by their lives than by their words. With them is sent Doctor Claude (this was Le Jay), whom your Excellency asked for by name. Although he cannot remain long, yet his assistance will be very useful, whether for days or months, in the foundation of this admirable and most salutary work. The college to which these brethren belong devotes all its studies, cares, and vigilance to one object—the amending the depraved morals of these times, and the converting of souls, by their exemplary life, and that sort of teaching or letters which shine in the pure sincere faith and most holy precepts of Jesus Christ, and recal men's minds from the pernicious pleasures of indulgence to the reasonableness of good and pious living; from the flesh to the spirit, from the world to God. What can be more valuable than this sound discipline, especially in these times, and most of all in Germany, where a boar of the woods strives to exterminate, and a singular wild beast to devour, the vine that the right hand of the Lord planted for the confirming of good souls in right opinions, and recalling the wandering sheep into the fold? Let your Excellency then receive these Fathers, worthy of all respect, with a gracious countenance, and especially with a benevolent mind; and since it is the plan of their lives, and the rule of their college, that they seek not their own things, but those of Jesus Christ, and live daily on uncertain gifts, they are persuaded they shall not want in those countries anything necessary in our Lord Jesus Christ from your piety: most just certainly it is, that the sowers of spiritual things should reap what is needful for the body. It is also certainly to be hoped, there will not be wanting some who,

moved by respect for their lives, and the sanctity of their precepts, will place themselves under the guidance of these Fathers. If this happens, and the Lord does not cease to visit His vineyard, your Excellency will follow these new labourers with favour, and rejoice when their number increases. How much grace from God Himself, our Lord, and the Holy Church will you receive, if this vineyard which your Excellency cherishes, being cultivated by this seminary, and irrigated by your great liberality, shall extend new branches and new shoots. That it may be a principal concern of your Excellency is what our holy Father urgently asks, whose earnest and very pleasant hope it is, that these three brothers, learned and worthy men, will be treated humanely and benignantly by your Excellency, to whom I wish long happiness.

The three Fathers received their degree of doctor of divinity at Bologna on October 4, and the University of Ingoldstadt welcomed them with great respect. Either there was less jealousy in Germany than in France, or the opinions of the sovereign were of more weight. Salmeron lectured on St. Paul, Canisius explained St. Thomas; they visited the hospitals and taught the ignorant, as the Jesuits were wont to do. In those days, when the indolence of the clergy and the general indifference about education had left the poor, the sick, and the young so much uncared for, this condescension in men recognised as so eminent must have greatly impressed those who saw or heard them.

Canisius was next year made rector of the university, but he accepted the toil only, and made over the benefices and emoluments to others. He seems to have been fortunate in meeting with only small difficulties, and no personal enmity. In the archives of the town of Ingoldstadt we find him mentioned as ‘the incomparable Canisius.’

The death of Duke Wilhelm happened soon after, and Ignatius had to announce to Albert, his successor, that the Pope had promised to the Bishop of Verona the help of Salmeron in his diocese. Ignatius replaced him by the Father Schorich¹ and Dr. Gaudan; and wrote to the Duke that Gaudan, born in Flanders, might be very useful in preaching, as well as in his professorship; he would provide the Duke with other professors, if the college were solidly established.

¹ Genelli thinks this is the same name as Storch.

But when two years passed and nothing more was done, the Jesuits at Ingoldstadt desired to be recalled. The Bishop of Eichstadt remonstrated in a letter to Ignatius. Polanco answered that the rules of the Society did not permit the members to be fixed in one place; and it was not their custom to teach in a college where secular priests only were trained. Ignatius was asked for professors in other places, for which they had not members enough. At this time many princes had testified their wish to plant and extend the Society in their dominions; King Ferdinand, particularly, had pressed Ignatius to send him teachers for Vienna. He now also wanted missionaries for Augsburg, where the Bishop of Laybach had persuaded him to found a college, and wrote on December 11 both to the Pope and Ignatius. In this letter he said that, seeing the good that followed the establishment of the Jesuits everywhere, he resolved to create a college for them at Vienna, and meanwhile he desired two of the Society to be sent him to give lessons of exegesis in the university. He also mentioned Le Jay as one he most wished for.

Feb. 1551. GENELLI.

Ignatius acceded; in the summer of 1551 Le Jay repaired to Vienna with Father Schorich; they arrived about the end of June.

Then it was necessary to consider the method of instruction, for in Germany, all taste for close and serious study had now nearly disappeared; there was no longer any collegiate body capable of forming an erudite and faithful clergy, and it seemed useless to attempt creating a higher standard of instruction, if the most eminent theologians were to attract but an insignificant audience, unprepared and without preliminary training. Yet to procure these theologians was all that the princes seemed to think necessary; and this notion it was that caused the long delays of Albert of Bavaria, and suggested to King Ferdinand the message he sent in 1551, through Le Jay to Ignatius, 'that he wished to reform the studies of the university in such a manner that the young men educated in the provinces might come for instruction in theology to the Jesuits of Vienna.' Polanco wrote by Ignatius' direction to Le Jay, 'that such a scheme was ineffective; that it would lead to considerable mischief;

that the youths whom it was intended to train at the universities would be unprepared; and moreover in Germany there was a disinclination to scholastic studies. These two causes would deprive the instructions thus unfavourably begun of all profit. If it was resolved to restore the studies of philology and philosophy at the universities where they had been so long neglected, the students must pass from four to six years before entering on their course of theology. But the lower classes of instruction were not in the sphere of a university; there was therefore only this resource, that philosophy and philology shall continue to be learnt as at present, and that the Jesuits should undertake the preliminary studies, and confide them to professors who would gradually inspire the desire of learning theology into the young men.'

On September 22, he wrote himself to Duke Albert to the same effect, repeating that the learners must be well prepared, as well as the teachers:—

This is our plan (he says), as I have already explained to the illustrious king of the Romans. For the languages we choose masters capable of teaching the classics verbally, and by (the usual) exercises, and (also) of leading them in a pious and pure life, by preaching, by the sacraments, and good example. When they have made sufficient progress, and are numerous enough, we give them a professor of dialectics, and the following years a master in philosophy. All these teachers will strive to light a spark of love for religious teaching in these young hearts, so that they may desire to learn theology of all things, before they are allowed to enter on it. Then, but not sooner, they will begin joyfully, and if possible, in large numbers, their theological course; and we shall take care to procure them masters who will lead them to a considerable height. Thus, illustrious Prince, we may, with Divine favour, in a few years possess many theologians, well trained both in the higher and the lower branches of teaching, and ready to oppose innovation, strengthen faithful minds, preach with edification, and fill the pastoral ministry throughout Bavaria. There will (then) be at Ingoldstadt an inexhaustible supply of pious and learned men, and its university will flourish both in learning and virtue, for these are cultivated in our colleges together.

He explains that within a month he has found it difficult to send only two Professors to Pisa and Naples, to found colleges there; he promises, however, to do all he can for Ingoldstadt.

Dec. 1551.

But the rumour of the withdrawal of two priests had reached Vienna, and King Ferdinand applied to the Pope and to Ignatius that they might be sent thither. The priests already there were too few for the work, and Le Jay was besides occupied in writing a 'Manual of Theology.' He did not live to do much more than collect the materials; and Canisius completed it.

Le Jay
died
Aug. 6,
1552.

Ignatius had no persons under him entirely suitable for Vienna except Canisius and Gaudan, and the Pope's orders compelled him to send them immediately; but he promised they should only be lent for a while, and restored to Ingoldstadt when the College of Vienna was sufficiently established. He withdrew them reluctantly, for the influence of their learning and admirable lives had produced the happiest results, and were still wanted among a people only recently aroused from the most torpid indifference to all religion. Canisius at first could assemble only a scanty congregation at mass, even on Sundays; and of these many entered the church just before the consecration and went away immediately after. The students were so irregular in their habits, that Canisius was forced to dismiss many from the university altogether, and put in prison some who seemed less incorrigible. Duke Wilhelm's abhorrence of the new doctrines had not kept them out of Bavaria; and none competent to repress them had appeared till the Jesuits arrived in the town.

1550.

Three months passed after the death of Paul III. before his successor was chosen. The vacancy of the Holy See had produced its usual effects in the poverty and depression of the Roman people, and the year of Jubilee began in gloom and distress. The Conclave meanwhile intended to do its duty, and to choose an upright and a reforming Pope. Five cardinals, it was said, voted for Ignatius. When asked if this was true, he was silent and looked on the ground, after his fashion. The majority chose Del Monte, who had presided as Papal Commissioner in the Council of Trent. He was proclaimed in February 1550, under the name of Julius III. His impetuous temper alarmed some; his favour with the imperial party, though not personally with Charles

Feb. 8.

himself, promised well for the peace of Italy in the opinion of others.

But Rome was not destined to enjoy even a near prospect of peace. The Farnesi in the north, and the Spaniards in the south, still kept alive the old dissensions; and France and Austria made Italy again a battle-field for their own unappeasable quarrels. The Spanish bishops, too, intolerant as they were of erratic opinions, were striving to appropriate some of the privileges hitherto reserved by the Pope. Charles V., hearing of their pretensions and demands, said, 'The bishops left home as parish priests, they return pontiffs.' One cause, at least, of discord was now easily removed, the Council might be reassembled at Trent without compromising the Papal authority; the bishops who remained there in defiance of Paul III., having dispersed at his death. Henry II., at first adverse, gave signs of acquiescence, and the new Pope consented to gratify Charles by sending to him the Bull of Convocation before it was published; but when he desired it should be modified, so as not to offend the Protestants, who rejected the Pope's authority in defining and deciding on all Church questions, Julius absolutely refused, and published it without altering a word.

In Southern Italy new prospects of usefulness opened 1551. before the companions of Loyola. One among their earliest pupils in Naples was Torquato Tasso, placed with them when he was but seven years old; his father's house was near their school, then governed by Oviedo. Torquato's love of his masters and of instruction was so strong, that he would rise before daybreak during the winter to attend the classes, and his mother sent men with torches to escort him in the dark. He profited so well, that three years later he composed in Latin, both prose and verse, and knew something of Greek. From the first he was always grave and studious, never needing to be stimulated or reproved. He learned also something better than languages; and, long years after, writing from his imprisonment at Sant' Anna to Jacopo Buoncompagno, rector of the Jesuits at Ferrara, to ask his intercession with the Duke, Torquato describes his first communion at the

altar of the Jesuits in Naples, and the profound and joyous devotion with which he received into his earthly body the Divine and mystical Body of the Son of God.

From Naples, where they had been known for some years past, the Jesuits had lately spread into other towns; and wherever they went they were beloved.

Juan de Vega, Viceroy of Sicily, and his wife Eleanor asked of Ignatius that one of his company might be sent to reside with them, and assume the office of confessor. They were then at Palermo, and Ignatius sent Domenech, lately returned from Bologna. He, aided cordially by the Viceroy, established orphanages, enforced the decree of Innocent III. respecting physicians, procured merciful reforms in the laws concerning debtors, introduced the use of the catechism, then a novelty, in places of education, brought back several convents both of men and women to their strict rule, forbade the irreverent custom of walking about in the churches, and restored solemn worship and receiving of the sacraments. Some while after, he spread these good works to other towns; and the people of Messina established a college there.

Nadal was sent from Rome to open it. Nine others accompanied him, who had spontaneously chosen him to be their leader. He began with the humility and caution enjoined on all the Society. To pacify the native doctors, in a discussion about precedence, he settled it by taking the lowest place, and used but half the Papal privileges he had brought with him.¹

1548.

About the same time Cardinal Alessandro Farnese desired that Laynez might visit his archbishopric of Monreale, and reform it as he judged proper. Laynez worked hard and achieved much; he was welcomed by the clergy and the convents, and restored peace between the Chapter of Palermo and the monks of San Severino; he drew up regulations which were accepted by both parties, and confirmed by the Cardinal. After this Palermo, desiring to have a college of the company, and the Viceroy urging this request, Ignatius sent

¹ About three years later Nadal offered to go with Antonio Doria to aid the Christians in Africa; his ship was wrecked in a storm on the island of Lampadosa. Nadal, thrown by the waves on a rock, clung to it till one of Doria's vessels coming near saw him and threw him a rope.

Ribadeneira there, who had been recalled to Rome from his studies at Padua, after four years. He brought two novices with him. On their journey through Florence he fell ill, and a kind physician received all three into his own house, where his wife carefully nursed Pedro during seventeen days. After this they started again for Rome, and in six days arrived at the Gesù, 'where we were received,' says Pedro, 'by St. Ignatius with that sweet charity, that Thou, O God, didst give him for all his children, but especially for me.' There Pedro heard that he was to join the new college at Palermo. The importance of the town made this a considerable establishment, and it was opened on November 25, in the presence of the Court. Laynez pronounced a splendid oration on 'the alliance of science with religion'; and Ribadeneira, in the afternoon, explained the designs of the Society. He was moderator of the studies and professor of rhetoric.¹

End of
August,
1549.

On the Feast of the Annunciation, in 1549, two members, much loved by Ignatius, were admitted to take the fourth vow: Emmanuel Miona, and Polanco, who had been two years his secretary and never lost that enviable office.

This was the time when the death of Codace having left the house in extreme poverty, aggravated by the state of Rome and the consequent lack of benefactions, an accident occurred, which the companions of Ignatius believed to be a miraculous answer to his prayers: Polanco, diving almost by chance for some papers into a chest which stood open, filled with old scraps and rubbish, found a paper rolled up, in which was a large sum of money, in coin newly minted. This all the household regarded as a prodigy.

When Laynez arrived at Palermo, in February, he was appointed to preach the Lent, in a church near the Viceroy's palace, but falling ill, he was sent to rest at Mon Reale.

He employed his time amongst the new establishments of the Society in Sicily, which the Viceroy, King Philip, and the Emperor warmly protected. That of Messina began two years before, and in the first year they had collected many scholars, under twelve Fathers, of whom only two were Sicilians, the rest being all of different countries and

¹ Lannoy was named rector, and professor of theology; Paolo Achille, minister, and teacher of philosophy.

tongues, whom Bartoli describes in the words of St. Augustine—‘They made most sweet harmony, being different but not discordant,’ for though using many languages, they spoke with but one heart. The same testimony was given afterwards by Luigi Strada, a holy monk of St. Bernard—‘What I have seen in this company of Jesus is very wonderful, and seems to me a Divine enchantment; men different in origin, country, and race, young and old, all so conformed in character, that they have, in truth, one mind and one soul.’

From Sicily as from Germany Ignatius would have letters sent him every week; he desired to know thoroughly, and guide carefully, with a paternal and anxious jurisdiction, those who were distant from him.¹ He watched over the novices, and was displeased when he heard their rector allowed them to follow the same rule as the Fathers, in diet and rest. He desired that the custom which he had established elsewhere should be observed, and before Lent began, a physician was to be sent for and consulted as to what would be safe and salutary for each.

The college of Messina rapidly increased and prospered. Many letters came from Jacopo Lostio, its rector, to Ignatius, relating conversions and acquisitions; but when these diminished, and at last Lostio’s weekly report was only a humble confession that he had nothing to tell, Ignatius kissed the letter, and said he valued its simplicity and sincerity as much as if it had told him great news.

The company of Jesus had always worked in Africa. Juan Nuñez, who was afterwards Patriarch of Ethiopia, and Luis Gonsalez passed some years in Fez and Morocco, striving to procure ransom for the Christians carried into captivity, or consoling those whom they could not redeem, and reclaiming the unhappy renegades whom the Moham-medans had driven to renounce their faith. But Gonsalez

¹ It is a remarkable proof of the blameless life and character of Ignatius, that this vigilance has been quoted against him; so impossible it was to find any fault, that the enemies of his order censured his good deeds instead.

had now charge of the novices in Rome, and Nuñez being required for the mission to Ethiopia was sent to Portugal.

A new chance of usefulness seemed opening in the crusade planned by the Emperor against the infidels. Dragut at that time swept the Mediterranean from shore to shore, carrying a broom at his mast-head, and he bore off many prisoners from the coasts of France and Italy. Charles V., warned by former disasters, prepared another expedition, with more precaution, and less contempt of his adversaries than before. Juan de Vega was to be its leader; and he wished that Laynez should accompany him, and obtained his request.

He left part of his troops at the island of Algates, and then went on to Africa. On landing, Laynez first set himself to make a hospital; for the men sickened and died in such numbers under the hot African sun, that at one time between two and three hundred lay together waiting for burial. With his own hands he prepared and gave the medicines for the sick, watched by them during the night, heard their confessions, and prepared them for death.

For the success of this expedition, Ignatius ordered that the holy sacrament should be offered by all his Society; and he procured from the Pope a participation for the army in the privileges of the Jubilee of 1550.

Ignatius asked this also for his children in India, the Brazils, Congo, and Africa, and begged the Pope to say what were to be the conditions of the indulgences? Julius answered:—‘I make this condition only, that you and your Society shall exercise all my authority in all those parts of the world, and order whatever you think proper for gaining the indulgence.’ When Ignatius humbly thanked him, and told him some good news of their successes in India, Julius wept for joy, and said ‘they were beyond measure dear to him.’ He extended these favours also to other places in Europe where the Society was known, and sustained the peculiar privileges of the Jesuits during the holy year, though these were commonly suspended among the religious orders.

Ignatius announced the indulgences of the Pope to the army in the following letter:—

Ignatius of Loyola, general of the company of Jesus, to the illustrious lords, to the noble and brave captains and soldiers, and all the Christians who are making war in Africa against the infidels, protection and grace of Jesus Christ our Lord, and in Him eternal life,—The excellent Lord Juan de Vega, Viceroy of Sicily, and head of this holy expedition, having written to ask me, in name of himself and the whole army, to entreat our holy Father the Pope Julius III. to open to you, who are detained in heathen lands, and fighting for the glory of Christ and the exaltation of our holy faith, the jubilee which he offers those who visit Rome and certain churches there; his Holiness, in virtue of his apostolic benevolence, has joyfully granted you this favour. You must therefore repent and confess, so that you may fight against the enemies of the Holy Cross with so much greater zeal, courage, and determination as you find more of the liberality of the most Holy God toward you, and of the Church His spouse. Thus you will derive most precious fruits from this war, whether victory in combat, or eternal happiness to those who die after obtaining pardon for their sins. So, to announce this assent to you, I thought it right, in the Lord, to send you this letter, and sign it with the seal of our Society. Given at Rome, 7th of the Ides of July, 1550 (that is, the 9th of July).

This was announced to the army with sound of trumpet. Laynez exhorted all to share in the Pope's bounty, and the men filled the confessionals night and day. His address to the army before they engaged was this:—

It is fit that you should remember, soldiers, how different our weapons are from those of the enemy. They fight for plunder and vainglory and wider dominions, we take up arms for the pure love of Christ, ready to brave all dangers, and spill our blood to defend our altars and our homes. Great things are done by courage and strength; but we must confide not in them only, but in the protection of God, on whom victory depends. You must fight, indeed, and bravely, but in camp you must behave as pious Christians; for it would be wicked indeed, if, while fighting against the enemy, you were also to wage war against the Omnipotent God. You will make Him propitious to you, if you add goodness and piety to your valour in war. Therefore, it is not for wealth and plunder that you should fight, as the barbarians do, but for the greater glory of God, which should be always before your eyes. So that the pacification of the world and the general safety of our people may be effected by your arms.

Tunis was taken on August 10, and Laynez performed mass in a mosque now consecrated to St. John the Baptist.

Layneze practised the moderation he taught, and though he shared largely in the honours given to the successful army on their return to Europe, he would accept no reward. Eleanora, Duchess of Tuscany, asked the Pope to send him to Pisa. There, at the Benedictine church, he preached with his wonted success; and not long after Pisa had a college of the Society.

In the course of that year Layneze went again to Padua; the college was highly successful, and continued to pour out a stream of learned and pious men. Paschase Brouet, who was the first provincial chosen for the work of Italy, seemed wanted in France, and Cardinal de Guise asked for him. Ignatius despatched him thither, in 1552; he remained till 1552. his death—ten years later. Layneze, named to fill his place in Italy, remonstrated and said he wished to decline all authority, until he himself had learned better how to obey. Ignatius insisted; but no sooner had Layneze entered on his office, than he showed he had rightly appreciated his besetting sin. He was annoyed that Ignatius removed all the best professors to his Roman college, leaving the other parts of Italy but insufficiently provided. Ignatius answered, it was important to the Society that it should appear in its greatest eminence at Rome; besides, that the college there, both for the numbers and the rank of its scholars, deserved the best teachers. Layneze, bound by his vows of obedience to acquiesce in this reiterated decision, nevertheless again argued and complained.

Ignatius sent him by Polanco a severe reproof.

Polanco writes:—

This letter you must not, my Father, consider as coming from (me) your reverence's son, for that I am as Polanco, since I owe you all love and esteem, but as from the instrument or the pen of our Father, who has ordered me to write you what it contains. He desired, indeed, some short time ago that I should write it, but when he heard that you suffered from fever, he delayed it until now that you are recovered. Our Father is not a little displeased with you, and all the more as the faults of those whom he loves are the more painful as coming from those where he least expected it. He has, therefore, bidden me write to you in respect of several things, so that you may be conscious of them, and not go on, but rather amend yourself; and this will be speedy and easy to you, having such good will as God our Lord has given you.

GENELLI.

Polanco then mentions three points in which he is blameworthy; but as they refer to names and circumstances no longer interesting, we will add only the conclusion;—

This dictatorial way of writing, which becomes no one towards a superior, he does not approve; rather, he bids me tell you, you should consider your own charge, and if you fulfil it as you ought, you do no small thing; but you had better take no other burden upon you: whereas you give him counsel respecting his own business, which he only desires to receive when he asks it of you, and less now than before you entered on your own charge, for in conducting it, you have not given him a great opinion of your fitness to rule. Consider these faults before God our Lord, and pray thereupon three days, and after that write whether you recognise these faults or mistakes, and decide the penalty which you think you have incurred, and send this in writing; but you are to accomplish none till you have received our Father's answer.

Layne answered from Florence, that he had many times read the last letter of Ignatius, and that he found in it abundant cause both to admire his paternal charity and praise the mercy of God, and to humble himself and be ashamed of his shortcomings. He prayed Ignatius not to spare him such salutary reprimands, and recognised these great faults in his conduct—that he had been heedless and vain enough to oppose his small judgment to that of a man so enlightened, that he had caused grief to his superior, and had attempted to disturb the order of Providence in withdrawing from the ways God had appointed for him.

As for the chastisement I deserve (he added), having reflected during these latter days that it is now more than twenty years since I engaged myself to serve God according to the evangelic precepts; that I had had so much assistance, and profited so little by it, and that perhaps my life was not far from its close, I was seized with an ardent desire to die entirely to myself, that I may live for God only; and it appeared to me, that if men knew what I am, they would treat me as one wholly miserable and worthless. Therefore, my Father, when the letter from your reverence was given me, I set myself to prayer, and having prayed with many tears, which seldom happens to me, this is what I decided, and declare to you now, with tears in my eyes. I wish that your reverence, to whom I submit myself and resign myself entirely; I wish, I say, and pray you, by the mercies of our Lord Jesus Christ, that to punish my sins, and conquer my untamed passions, which are

their source, you withdraw me from all command, preaching, and study, leaving me no book but my breviary; that you make me come to Rome, begging all the way, and there employ me till I die in the lowest services of the house. Or, if I am not fit for that, command me to pass the rest of my days in teaching the first elements of grammar, taking no notice of me, and regarding me always as the outcast of the world.

Then if the Father did not agree to this proposal, he offered to endure the same probation for a limited time, as for two or three years, or as long as Ignatius thought fit. If this offer also was refused, he proposed other penances, and that every time he had to write to the general, he should first pray, and meditate on what he intended to write, and afterwards read it over, taking care to say nothing that could grieve his good Father, and striving only to give him pleasure. But Ignatius, satisfied with so much humility, set him to a task more profitable to the world. He bade him compose a summary of theology, which should serve as an answer to the Lutherans; and to secure him leisure, he gave him as assistants in visiting the colleges of Italy, Martin Olave, who had known Laynez at Trent, before he entered the order, and John Baptist Viola, once rector of the Jesuits in Paris. Viola was over-anxious, and when his unceasing activity was less successful than he desired, he took his failures too much to heart. Ignatius bade him keep his mind in peace, and imitate the guardian angels, who watch and serve us, but lose no tranquillity when their care is made useless by the perversity of man.

Ignatius retained his high value for Laynez as long as he lived. He once said there was no member of the company to whom it was so much indebted, and he considered him his greatest treasure. And this opinion had considerable weight in the decision which made Laynez the second general of the order.

On May 1, in the year following the accession of Julius III., 1551. the prelates were summoned to meet a second time at Trent. Cardinal Crescenzi, just ordained to the priesthood, who said his first mass at the opening of the Council, was its president; the nuncios were Pighini, archbishop of Manfredonia, and

Marcello
Crescenzi.
Sebastian
Pighini,

bishop of
Ferrettino.

Lippomani, bishop of Verona, one of the family who had so much loved Ignatius and his companions.

But those who hoped that peace would come with time and change were disappointed. The unhappy nepotism of Paul III. had bequeathed an inheritance of perplexity to his successor. Cardinal del Monte, some months before, made a promise to Paul that, if raised to the throne, he would give back Parma to Ottavio Farnese; and now when his clergy remonstrated, he said, 'I would rather be a poor Pope, with the character of a true gentleman, than rich, under the reproach of services forgotten and promises unfulfilled.'¹

But Charles V. coveted Parma, and Henry II. demanded it for his son-in-law Orazio: it seemed likely to be a cause of lasting discord and embarrassment to the Council and to Italy. Henry refused to send an ambassador or bishops to Trent while his demand for Parma was resisted. The secretary of the embassy at Venice, Abbé de Bellosane, was commissioned to make a representation to the Council, and he had some difficulty in obtaining an audience. One of the emissaries of Charles V. at Trent was Martin Olave, who, when Ignatius entered Barcelona, in fashion of a mendicant, more than twenty years before, was the first person who gave him alms. He resided sometime in the court of Charles as capellan; he had a wish to go to India, and wrote to ask the advice of his friend Polanco, who said he had better first come to Rome. This offended Olave. He fancied they wanted him to enter the new Society, and he had an extreme prejudice against it. He resolved to break off with the Jesuits altogether. But such a strong attraction seemed to follow this obstinate aversion, that at Trent he sought out Laynez and Salmeron, and then by their advice went to Rome. He entered the Society, and was the first of its members who taught the theology of St. Thomas.²

1552.

¹ Doubtless such incidents as these caused Pius V. to make that decree against alienating church property of which Pío Nono has been reminded so often.

² He remembered with compunction the dislike and misrepresentations of his earlier days; he sometimes said, '*Me miserum! quia eam nimis diu ignorans fugi! sæpe etiam de eadem detraxi.*' Alas for me! I have kept aloof from the Society so long; I have even often spoken ill of it, (How many, if they were honest, might say the same.)

The Council proceeded as formerly, treating of faith in the morning and practice in the afternoon. They took first the sacraments and the residence of bishops. Laynez and Salmeron attended the legates as they had done before, and their reception at Trent was highly honourable. The legates, the Bishop of Trent, and others desired to lodge them in their houses, and Lippomani wrote to Ignatius—‘If I were not bound to submit to our sovereign pontiff, I should complain of the Fathers Laynez and Salmeron, who have placed themselves in another lodging than mine; for my house is at their service, and that of all your holy company.’

On September 8, called on to open the debate as theologians of the Holy See, they used the exceptional privilege granted them of speaking three hours at a time. Laynez began by humbly expressing his regret that he was obliged to speak before he had heard the opinions of so many illustrious men. Then, taking up the subject of discussion, he showed briefly the wisdom of the Council, who had ordered him to draw his proofs from Scripture, tradition, the Councils, the Apostolic Constitutions, the ancient Fathers, and the consent of the Catholic Church. For the heretics, he said, who claim to speak from Scripture only, see it under the shadow of their passions, and pervert its meaning. Scripture must be our guide, and not our instrument. He then added this announcement, which filled his hearers with admiration, that he intended to quote no writer whose works he had not read entirely through, and that in each he had compared all the passages relating to the subjects they intended to consider. Laynez quoted thirty-six authorities, from which he repeated long extracts by memory, not displacing, it was said, a single word.¹ His enunciation was so imposing, his voice and his eloquence so impressive, that he charmed his learned audience; and in the evening, when Salmeron had spoken, those bishops who had not heard these two in the former sessions, said this was a bright day in their lives. Foscarari, bishop of Modena, wrote afterwards:—‘The Fathers Laynez and Salmeron have splendidly supported our side against the Protestants, respecting the

¹ One of these was Alphonse Tostat, whose works fill twenty-five folios. Bellarmine calls him the wonder of the world.

eucharist. I think myself fortunate in living in an age when I can see and hear these Fathers, who are as learned as they are good.'

The president Crescenzi took Laynez for his counsellor, and advanced nothing without his advice. Laynez had been ill for months past; but Crescenzi would not part with him to rest two or three weeks at Verona; he expected daily the arrival of some Protestant disputants, and desired they should be met at once by this formidable antagonist. But as his complaint was now a quartan fever, the prelates agreed that they would not meet on the days on which it seized him, or would only transact matters of small importance. The questions of the sacraments were resumed. De Montfort, Imperial ambassador, urged that the two points on which the Protestants seemed most determined—marriage of the priesthood and communion in both kinds—should not be considered till the Lutheran deputies arrived; and this request was acceded to.

Hitherto, though the ambassadors of the Elector of Brandebourg and Duke of Wurtemberg were present, and also the Greek Archbishop of Thessalonica, no Protestant theologians had taken part in the discussion. Charles V. called on them to appear, and Melancthon, by desire of Maurice of Saxony, drew up 'the new Confession of Augsburg,' which was to be presented to the Council as a statement of the Lutheran faith. All the Protestant cities sent deputies; Sleidan,¹ the dishonest historian of the Council, who has misrepresented so many details of its proceedings, came from Strasbourg. In November all entered quietly into Trent, not waiting on the presidents to announce themselves. But, by order of Julius III., they were treated with civility. 'For,' said he, 'a good father must show much forbearance to his children to draw them back gently to their duty.' Maurice of Saxony deferred the arrival of his envoys till January 1552, wishing to gain time. When they appeared, they were in the utmost degree friendly and respectful with the Imperial ambassadors, and on January 21 they spoke in the congregation. They demanded—1st, a more ample

Jan. 7,
1552.

¹ He wrote, says Maimbourg, 'avec assez de politesse, et très peu de sincérité.'

safe-conduct for the Protestant theologians, because the Council of Constance had declared, they said, that faith was not to be kept with heretics; 2nd, that no new decrees should be published till these theologians had been heard; 3rd, that the previous decrees should be discussed over again; 4th, that the Fathers should, after the examples of Constance and Basle, declare the Council independent of the Pope; 5th, that the Bishops should be relieved from the oath they had taken to the Holy See. The Protestant deputies then retired; the Fathers, forewarned and instructed by the Pope, answered with extreme moderation. On the day the next session opened, they promised a safe-conduct, which was actually given in the most ample form.¹ Jan. 25.

The Council then proceeded to other points. They agreed to postpone till the arrival of the Protestants the discussions on justification and some other disputed questions. They declared the present Council was legitimate and œcumenic; they affirmed the supremacy of the Pope, as sovereign and judge; and they asserted that, were the oaths they had taken to the Holy See remitted, this would make no difference in their obligation to defend what they thought right and truth, even with their lives.

When the sacrament of holy communion was brought forward, the large majority of the Fathers, supporting the authority of the Church in giving it to the laity only in one kind, decided that equal grace was received under the one species as both.² But three theologians, of whom Melchior Cano was one, maintained that he who communicates in both kinds receives the greater grace.

In consequence, those points of the decree drawn up which related to the participation of the cup and marriage of priests were withdrawn, and left for future discussion.

¹ It cannot be said that the mistrust of the Protestants was unreasonable. The Fathers of Trent declared, it had never been asserted that faith need not be kept with heretics, *but only* that a safe-conduct granted by the civil power was not binding on the ecclesiastical. Yet if John Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned to death, in spite of their safe-conduct, it certainly was but small consolation to them to know that some plausible pretext had been found for evading it.

² Melancthon, like Luther, and many other Reformers, approved the Roman usage. Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and the Duke of Bavaria, both wished the cup should be conceded.

But suddenly the storm burst which was to disperse the Council, and banish the slight remaining hope of reconciliation, now crushed in the dismemberment of the Empire. Maurice of Saxony turned against the Emperor, for whom he had fought at Muhlberg. He had not concealed his designs so well but that the Duke of Alva warned Cardinal Granvelle of his treachery. Granvelle answered, 'A drunken German head can form no scheme which I cannot easily discover and counteract.' He was persuaded he could deceive Maurice, who, on the contrary, deceived him. And one evening, when Charles was about to sit down to supper at Innspruck, an alarm was given that the Elector with a hostile army was already within the walls. Charles, suffering under an attack of gout, could not sit on his horse, but was placed in a litter, and had scarcely time to fly, leaving his supper to Maurice and his officers. The night fortunately was dark, and it rained hard; this favoured his escape, and he reached Villach, in Carinthia, in safety,¹ by mountain paths, lighted sometimes by torches of straw. There he was so poor, that he was forced to borrow 200,000 crowns from Cosmo de' Medici, giving Piombino as a security. Sienna rose, and expelled the Spanish garrison.

After this, Trent was no longer a safe residence for the Fathers, and on March 8 they dissolved the Council. Crescenzi, already very ill, lived only three days after he reached Verona. And the illustrious Council of Trent did not resume its labours till ten years after.

On the Christmas morning of the year of Jubilee, after his second mass, Ignatius was suddenly seized with a severe illness; he thought himself about to be set free, but he recovered in a great degree, and all danger seemed over, leaving him suffering and weak.

1551. On January 30 he sent a sealed letter, written in Spanish, to the Fathers, whom he had assembled to receive it. These were the contents:—

To my dearest brothers in our Lord, of the company of Jesus,—

¹ It was the night between the 22nd and 23rd of May. Maurice entered Innspruck on the morning of the 23rd, and found he was a few hours too late.

What I have considered and judged best for the greater praise and glory of the Divine Majesty, being moved neither by any inward nor outward emotion, and after pondering for many months and years, I will now declare, as in the presence of my Creator and Lord, who will one day judge me for eternity—according to truth, and free from all disquiet. When I regard my many sins and failings, my many weaknesses of soul and body, I have often arrived at the full conviction that I want infinitely, so to speak, the force necessary to bear this burden of the Society, which they have laid upon me. Therefore, I wish the matter to be well considered, in our Lord, and another chosen, who may fill this place of governing the Society better, or at least less ill than I, and that I may make over this charge to him. And not only this is my wish, but I have also sufficient reason to judge, that it ought to be made over even to one who would do only as well as I, not only to one who would do better, or not so ill. After considering all this, I now lay down my charge, and renounce it, without reserve or condition, in name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, One God, and my Creator. I pray and conjure the professed, with all my soul, in the Lord's name, and also those who they may think proper to join to themselves in this consultation, that they will accept this, my proposal, which is so justified in the presence of the Divine Majesty. And if among those who have to decide on this there should arise any difference of opinion, I pray them, for the love and honour of God our Lord, that they will earnestly recommend the matter to the Divine Majesty, that His most holy will may be done, to His greater honour and the general good of souls and of the whole company, so that all may be for ever directed for His greater and Divine praise and glory.

The Fathers received this letter with great emotion. Andrea Oviedo, in his simple reverence for the suggestions of one he looked on as a saint, thought whatever Ignatius desired should be done. The others were unanimous that they would never suffer any one else to be their general while he lived; and they sent this message formally to their beloved Father; separately each entreated him not to abandon them.

He became again dangerously ill; the hope of a speedy admission into the presence of his Lord filled him with such joy, that his agitation exhausted him, and the physicians enjoined him to indulge his mind but sparingly with these subjects. Ignatius, watchful to practise obedience when-

ever he could find an opportunity, complied with this restriction, and recovered. It was often said that in his fragile form the spirit wore out the body. Once the physicians prescribed to him perfect repose of mind, and bade him turn away his thoughts from anything that could distress him. This set him thinking, as he told Gonsalez, what could possibly grieve him; and he thought he should be sorry if his Society were destroyed and suddenly came to an end. 'But even then,' said he, 'I think in a quarter of an hour I should be quite comforted.' When he was very ill and suffering, a dying man wanted to confess to him. Upon this being told him, though quite unfit to go, and though the other Fathers were very urgent to be sent in his place, yet Ignatius got up and went to the sick man, and passed the night with him. These frequent maladies of Ignatius were times of great edification to those near him; his soul seemed then pouring itself out in a joyful communion with God. He said sometimes, the more faults he committed the more favours were granted him; and thought he was the only man in the world who united such sins and such graces. In his joyful humility they heard him exclaim, 'O God, how infinitely good Thou art to bear with a miserable sinner like me!' He found in the mere thought of God an inestimable source of grace, and told some one that he never spoke of God with any, even great sinners, without learning and gaining something.

When Ignatius was at Alcalá he had received great kindness from Mencia de Benevente, who after his departure fell into great poverty. Ignatius hearing of this, wrote to Villanova, rector of the college newly started there, and desired him to assist this good man. The college was so poor, that the Fathers wanted coverings for their beds, and had only their cloaks to throw over them during the winter nights. When they received the injunction of Ignatius, they set every day, at dinner and supper, a plate in the middle of their table, into which each Father, beginning with the rector, put a part of his own portion of food.

The college was begun in 1545, and the teaching and ex-

hortations of the Jesuit Fathers had in two months collected thirty young men around them, who desired admittance into the novitiate; its numbers constantly increasing, though very poor, because the funds were not proportionate, it had gone on working in peace, to the satisfaction apparently of all the world, when suddenly the Archbishop of Toledo, Juan 1551. Siliceo, without explanation or visible cause, suspended them from the sacerdotal functions, which they exercised by the powers granted them from Rome. Some priests of his diocese, zealous but ignorant men, had adopted practices which were supposed to be those of the Theatines, as the Jesuits were called at Alcalá. They allowed communion twice a day, and other singularities, which doubtless had something to do with Siliceo's hostility. An account of this incident remains in the handwriting of Polanco, dictated by Ignatius. The archbishop charged his vicar at Alcalá to publish in all the churches a decree which forbade, on pain of censure, all the priests of the Society to preach, confess, or administer any sacrament, or even to say mass.

The Jesuits heard of this decree only a short time before it was published, and immediately took the necessary steps with the Grand Vicar, showing the powers they had received from the Pope. The vicar was well disposed towards them, asked a copy of this document, and sent it by a courier to the archbishop. But he, not at all moved, ordered the decree to be proclaimed from all the pulpits a second time. The Superiors sent an account of this to Ignatius, and applied at the same time to the Royal Council of Castille. The Council ordered all the ministers of the King in Spain to support the company, and charged the Governor of Toledo to communicate to the archbishop the apostolic privileges of the order. In consequence of this, the Jesuits who had left Alcalá returned, presented the decree to the chapter, and obtained ready permission to resume their functions in the cathedral. But neither the decree of the Council nor letters from very high personages made any impression on the archbishop; he was only the more angry. In this extremity Ignatius was forced to have recourse to Julius III., praying him to come to their assistance in any manner he judged fit. Julius proceeded gently; he caused his secretary, Cardinal Maffei, to write a

representation to the archbishop, and to Cardinal Poggi, legate in Spain. When the draft of the letter to the archbishop was presented by Maffei to the Pope, he inserted this sentence with his own hand:—‘And also, that this community is so much loved, esteemed, and cherished, at this time, in all Christendom.’ These admonitions were all wasted on Siliceo, who yielded at last only to some threats of an absolute rupture with the Court from Cardinal Poggi; then, with no expressions of regret, or of any change of opinion, he ordered the clergy of Alcalá to announce from the pulpits that he should visit with ecclesiastical punishment any one who troubled the priests of the Society of Jesus in the functions they were exercising by authority of the Pope.

Ignatius had foreseen this result; and from the beginning he had said to Ribadeneira, ‘This hostility is a blessing to us, since we have not deserved it: our Lord will produce much fruit by us in Spain, for we have always done most good where we have suffered most; the archbishop is old, our community is young, and must naturally survive him.’ When he heard that the difference was appeased, Ignatius wrote his thanks to the archbishop, the legate, and King Philip. In a letter to Villanova he desired him not to use the privileges of the community without permission of the prelate; and this was in conformity with a rule that he, like St. Francis Xavier, thought indispensable—never to oppose existing authority. He believed and taught that more and better victories are obtained by concession than by conquest.

To Villanova he wrote thus:—

Considering that the weapons of spiritual graces granted by the Holy See to our community produce more fruit for the good of souls when used in this sense in concert with their own pastor, and that this precept should especially be observed in the archbishopric of Toledo, when the prelate, as I do not doubt, will approve all that is done for the glory of God our Lord, I think I ought to recommend to you, by these presents, that you should depart in nothing from what you see to be according to his views, whether respecting preaching or giving the sacraments, and the other assistances in the wants of our neighbour. So, in the hope that the lord archbishop will be your father and lord, and help you in all that may serve for the increase of our company and the glory of God, I will not have any person in the whole kingdom received into the community against

the wish and opinion of his lordship ; and this I enjoin you to see to, and you must take care that it is enforced.

June 1, 1552.

Ignatius comforted his brethren by assuring them an archbishop would one day come whose favour would exceed the hostility of Juan Siliceo ; and it was granted to him to see this happen, in the last year of his life. For Siliceo died, and his successor, Gaspar Quiroga, came to Rome, and there showed the greatest admiration for Ignatius, and delight in conversing with him. He rejoiced that the company of Jesus was established in his diocese, and helped to spread it there.

But much greater and longer lasting than those external troubles were the hindrances caused in Portugal by Simon Rodriguez, who, with excellent intentions, had introduced among his people certain ideas and practices not conformable to the spirit of the Institute. Ignatius, who had never seen him since he was sent to Lisbon, had wished several years before, and again in 1550, to summon him to Italy, that he might hear from himself how things went on in that distant province, and that Rodriguez might see and appropriate that system of direction which Ignatius had established under his own eye in Rome. With this purpose, he wrote in the summer of 1549 to King Joam, asking leave of absence for Simon, from August to April in the following year. But the King would not part with him, because he was at that time superintending the education of the prince, his heir. Luis Gonsalez afterwards succeeded him in this charge. It was natural that Ignatius should wish to see his old companion again after so many years, and learn from him in what way he guided so important a province ; perhaps all the more as he well knew Simon's characteristics, which before now had nearly made him desert his community to satisfy his love of a contemplative life. Some reports, too, may have reached him that increased the anxiety of Ignatius ; for he seems then to have intended to remove Simon from the post of provincial—but this he did not do till a year later. Almost all the members of the community in Portugal had been formed by Rodriguez ; they had attached themselves more than suited

the spirit of a religious order to him and his methods ; and it was desirable that this too personal alliance should cease. Ignatius wished his Constitutions to be practically introduced into Portugal (where they had already been approved), all the more because they were opposed to several usages inconsistent with them, and tolerated by Rodriguez ; he, therefore, appeared an unfit person to carry them out. Moreover, he had already been twelve years Superior and provincial in Portugal, and the Constitutions prescribed a change every three years. But if Rodriguez were unwilling to come, it was possible that he might seek and find support in the King ; therefore Ignatius wrote to Joam III. and some members of the royal family, explaining his wishes and his reasons. He then named Jacopo Mirone provincial in Portugal ; and gave Simon his choice—to go to the Brazils, as he had formerly wished to do, or take the charge of superintendent in Aragon. He commissioned Torrez, rector of the college at Salamanca, and Borgia, who was in Guipuscoa, to see these orders complied with ; and sent Torrez several blanks with his signature, to be used as he found necessary. But the King had already seen that a change was desirable, and Rodriguez submitted with perfect readiness ; so that Mirone was installed as his successor with no delay. This was in May 1552. Then Rodriguez showed symptoms of a change : perhaps the regrets of those who were unwilling to see their gentle master replaced by one of stricter views and habits, worked on him to attempt a sort of passive resistance. On pretence that Ignatius had ordered him to do nothing without the royal permission, he applied to know if his removal was agreeable to the King. When he heard that it had been decided on with his consent, Simon declared that his health disabled him from going either to Brazil or Aragon. He left Lisbon immediately for the college of Coimbra, where the spirit of discontent entered with him ; the Superior was not prudent, and much disorder followed. Then Torrez interfered, and bade Simon repair at once to Aragon. The King, too, sent an order to the same effect. Simon obeyed ; and Torrez, thinking all was concluded, returned to Salamanca ; but Father Gomez, the companion of Rodriguez, suddenly appeared at Court, where he and some other malcontents

made a great stir, and endeavoured, by favour of the King and a few of the grandees, to procure the recall of their beloved provincial; striving to throw discredit upon Ignatius himself. King Joam only desired that Torrez and Borgia might immediately be summoned to Portugal. This fortunate persistence of the King, aiding the wise authority of Ignatius, suppressed a schism which might have been dangerous, and Ignatius thanked his royal friend and patron in grateful terms.

Mirone was a character almost opposite to that of Rodriguez, and chosen doubtless by Ignatius for this very reason: ‘*homme clairvoyant, exact, ferme, d’une vertu un peu dure.*’ At first he required rather too much of the novices and students. Ignatius warned him that this was a fault, and advised him to wait patiently for their progress towards perfection; reminding him that his business, as provincial, lay in large and general matters, not in details. Ignatius wished him to follow his own example; and, after explaining his object to his subordinates, leave them to work it out. ‘It is better,’ said he, ‘not to give minute directions. For in that case, if anything went wrong, you would be placed in a position unsuitable to your authority; and those who are nearest the work can often judge best how to do it.’

As soon as Rodriguez arrived in Aragon, he besieged Ignatius with entreaties that he might return to Portugal. Ignatius answered him with great forbearance and consideration; the following letter is characteristic:—

From your letter of the 26th, I perceive that you are not comfortable where you are, and are distressed with sickness; and that, in your opinion, your charge is very burdensome; and you ask me for these reasons to let you return to Portugal, even without an office. I feel inclined to give you contentment in everything, and procure you satisfaction, so far as I may, in our Lord, so that I have no difficulty in persuading myself to do what I think will procure it. I think I ought all the more to please you, as your bodily ills are great, and I would not therefore let you suffer external inconveniences. So I am content that you should return to Portugal, to your native air, which is better for your health, and as you desire, without any charge. Meanwhile, it is suitable to your charity, that as you have hitherto served the Society in outward cares and efforts, so now, during the remainder of the life that God our Lord may

grant you, you should protect it by your prayers and earnest wishes, for the honour and service of God, and the help of souls, through its means ; and in this intention I grant what you desire, that you may see to your own salvation without burden or obligations. And, according to what I have said, I think that San Felice¹ would be very suitable for you, where I believe you would have all the advantages you can desire—air, water, and prospect. And while you will have there the leisure you wish, for your spiritual comfort, you will be able to do good in the places all round as much as you desire. And that you may remove thither, I write to the provincial of Portugal that all comfort in temporal things may be provided for you, so that you may want nothing ; and for your own person, you are to do as it may please you, in our Lord, no one imposing on you any penance or mortification, or moving you from that spot. And thus I think the wish you have expressed, to be dependent only on myself, is quite satisfied. As to what you say, about evil reports, which have been sent from Portugal, and which you ask me to communicate to you, I hold it better, in my opinion, not to dwell on such things, but rather bury all past incidents, where there is something to be said on both sides ; for it brings little satisfaction, when a Father hears of his sons what he does not wish to hear, or the sons of the Father. I can tell you this, that I have been informed from Portugal that everybody there loves you much, and let that suffice on that point.

Rome, December 9, 1552.

When Ignatius wrote this, he knew nothing of the proceedings of Gomez. The account given by Torrez immediately afterwards, changed his mind considerably on the subject of his last letter ; he wrote, therefore, again on the 17th, that Rodriguez must submit himself to the provincial in Portugal, who was to consult with three or four Fathers, and then announce his decision, which Rodriguez was to receive as if it came from Ignatius himself ; these Fathers might choose for Simon's residence any place they thought suitable, whether one of the houses of the Society or not. He also charged the Provincial Mirone to dismiss from the Society, or send to Rome, any who would not comply with the new order of things.

Some time after Ignatius thought proper to send for

¹ San Felice was a country house belonging to the College of Coimbra, at the extremity of Portugal, near Valença de Mino.

Simon Rodriguez to Rome ; for, after what had passed, he could not be of any use in the Peninsula. Rodriguez went to Rome : the letter which summoned him was this :—

Master Simon Rodriguez, beloved son in our Lord,—After I had received, read, and considered your letters of February 10, and of March 23 and 26, and April 12, and many more, which I received from where you are ; and because I feel and acknowledge that it is desirable for the greater peace and spiritual comfort in the Lord of those of our Society who remain in Portugal, and also that we may consult on the common subjects which concern the whole community, and which cannot be discussed except in conversation, I have resolved, in our Lord, to give you a little bodily trouble by a journey to Rome. And so, as it is a matter of importance, I command you this in the power of obedience, on behalf of Christ our Lord, whether by water or land, as you find it more easy ; and this must be as soon as possible ; therefore, in eight days from the receiving this, set out on your journey, and do not delay. I pray God that He may lead and accompany you.

Son Simon, trust to me, that your soul and mine when you come here will find comfort in our Lord ; and all that we both wish, for the greater glory of our Lord, will be happily accomplished. Meanwhile, hold fast to what we see, with much piety ; and if yours is not very great, yet God our Lord will give you more, if you strive to accomplish this journey. Remember, that when I had yet no authority over your actions, you did what I desired of you, and went to Portugal with all readiness, though you had the quartan ague at that time, and you got well ; then how much more now, when you have not such a serious illness.

Son, Master Simon, set out immediately, and doubt not that health of body and soul will refresh us here, to the greater honour of God. Only have confidence in me, and you will remain satisfied in our Lord.

Rome, July 12, 1553.

These incidents gave occasion for that letter on obedience which Ignatius wrote on March 26, 1553, to the members of the college of Coimbra. He wrote also to the Superiors, bidding them expel the recalcitrative without delay ; and Francis Xavier, on the other side of the globe, knowing nothing of what had happened, wrote to the same effect and at the same time. All these occurrences made Ignatius resolve to call Xavier, whom he destined to be his successor, from his spiritual labours in the East ; there were other reasons also,

GENELLI.

which he detailed in a long and affectionate letter, never received—for Xavier was already dead.

The removal of Mirone was a grief to the excellent Archbishop of Valencia, Thomas of Villanova. He wrote to Ignatius that he and Domenech had been eminently successful in his diocese, and begged to have one of them again, or others like them. The Archbishop lived and died very poor, having given away almost all the large revenues of his episcopate for the love and service of Christ.

JOLY.

Emmanuel Godin was made rector of the college of Coimbra when Rodriguez left it. There were then 140 Jesuits within its walls, the greater part scholastics. Father Godin dismissed many of them, and others, refusing to submit, went away. In all this affair there had been, perhaps, relaxation of discipline and departure from the rules of the order strictly interpreted, but no moral offence that the world would blame; nevertheless, the conscience of Godin was wounded. He thought he had perhaps been too severe in the acts which caused these young men to withdraw. At any rate, much scandal had been given, and all these occurrences had perhaps impaired the usefulness of the Society in the world's opinion. Godin resolved that he would take upon himself the reparation: he went through the streets in the guise of a penitent, striking his bared shoulders with a whip, asking pardon of God, and those whom he or his community had offended; he then returned to the college, and repeated the same penance in the presence of the scholastics; they, moved by his example, asked leave to follow it. On the next day, after long meditation on the passion of our Lord, the young men went in procession through the streets, like the flagellants of earlier times. Then they knelt before the altar of the Misericordia, while Father Godin addressed the people, who filled the church, and asked their forgiveness, if they thought the college had been censurable. After this, they returned to their home, its original austerity, and grave studies; and Coimbra from that time assumed the first place among the religious establishments of the Peninsula, which it continued to hold until the company was suppressed.¹

¹ Martin Navarro, a man of high character, who knew the college seven

Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, came to Rome in 1549, to negotiate a league against Charles V. Ignatius saw him, and explained to him at great length the nature and details of his Institution, against which the University of Paris had shown so much enmity. He succeeded in persuading the Cardinal, and through him Henry II. of France, that religion and the State might profit greatly by the new order. Guise was warm in his eulogy of the Jesuits; and, in January 1550, Henry gave them letters patent permitting them 'to construct, from the alms that might be given them, a house and college in Paris only, and not elsewhere, and the Parliament was ordered to cause these letters to be verified and made effectual.

On hearing this, as there was no professed of the company at Paris, Loyola wrote to Father Viola, to make his profession in the hands of the Bishop of Clermont. But in that year a Carmelite, preaching in the church of St. Severin, attacked the Jesuits; and this was '*comme le signal de la guerre que toutes les mauvaises passions déclarèrent dès lors à Paris à la compagnie de Jésus,*' says Maldonat. The Parliament, adopting the hostility of the Sorbonne, refused to enrol the letters, because they said the new order would be injurious to the monarch, the State, and the hierarchy; and when these opinions were supported by excellent, though misinformed or prejudiced, men, like Bruslart, Marillac, and Séguier, and the admirable Du Boulay, while Eustace de Bellay, bishop of Paris, and many other bishops aided the University in exciting mistrust and hostility against the Jesuits, Henry commissioned a private Council to examine the Constitutions and the Bulls by which the Pope had legalised them. The

years, writes of it—'One thing appears to me miraculous; and it is this:—more than a hundred students of the Society were assembled there, instructed at the expense of the King; all young, all full of life and ardour, permitted to go out at all times, and to communicate with persons of all sorts and conditions; they were as likely to find temptations to sin as encouragements to virtue; moreover, the inhabitants were almost all secretly hostile to them. Yet I have never, during the space of seven years, heard one single person, openly or in a whisper, seriously or in jest, say one single word unfavourable to these students. I must repeat that all this appears to me miraculous, for no one has ever before seen so great a number of young men living in perfect liberty amidst people ill-disposed towards them, of whom not one has ever given occasion for a word of reproach.'

Council declared they could find in these nothing illegal, injurious or censurable; therefore, on January 10, 1552, Henry repeated his commands to the Parliament, to register the letters given two years before. The Parliament again determined to resist, postponed the matter till 1554, and then transmitted the Papal briefs and the Pope's letters to the Bishop of Paris and the Theological Faculty, to be re-examined. This appeal to the antagonists of the Jesuits announced a long and formidable opposition, which was aided by the Huguenots—no small party then—as well as by the lawyers. The Jesuits were supported by the Court, the House of Guise, Du Prat, and some other bishops; the Parisians loved them, and delighted in their preaching, which was less prepared and pedantic than that of the Sorbonne. The University presented a petition to the King, 'That the Bull of Paul III. might not be registered by the Parliament.'

The Parliament on the third day caused its president, De Bellay, to announce his opinion, contained in eleven paragraphs, each stating an objection to the Institution; but not the answers to these objections, given by the Jesuits themselves. The opinion concluded thus:—'That all novelties are dangerous, and produce many evils not intended nor foreseen; and that, since the community professed to preach the gospel to Turks and heretics, its members ought to establish themselves in these parts, as did the Knights of Rhodes; for much time would be lost in going from Paris to Constantinople or other places in the East.' Finally, the *Conclusio* was given unanimously by the Faculty of Theology in December. It is a curiosity as a specimen of irrational abuse; it seems almost a description by contraries, so entirely has truth been reversed in it, or overlaid with exaggeration or misstatement.

This new Society (it says), which assumes the unusual title of the name of Jesus, which receives with so much license, and without selection, all sorts of persons, however criminal, illegitimate, or infamous; which differs in nothing from the secular priesthood. . . . This Society, to which have been granted so many privileges and permissions, . . . to the prejudice of the ordinaries and the hierarchy of the other religious orders, even of temporal princes and

lords, against the privileges of the Universities, and at a heavy charge to the people ;—this Society seems to wound the honour of the monastic state ; weakens entirely the necessary exercise of virtue, in abstinence, ceremonies, austerity ; facilitates the free abandonment of religious orders ; withdraws from the obedience due to the ordinaries ; deprives the lords temporal or ecclesiastical of their rights, disturbs both classes, causes many subjects of complaint among the people, many lawsuits, contentions, and divisions. Therefore . . . this Society appears dangerous to the faith, likely to trouble the peace of the Church, overturn the monastic orders, and rather to destroy than to improve.

It would be difficult to have framed a more honourable accusation: every point of censure is one on which the Jesuits were carefully guarded and eminently irreproachable. Many professors refused their signatures ; others, who signed, declared they merely yielded their judgment to that of the majority. But the people had no means of inquiry ; and many, with the usual docility to imperious authority, believed all they heard at once : then the clergy from their pulpits, and the professors in their doctoral chairs, declaimed against this new and obtrusive order, and placards with the same object were pasted on the walls of the Sorbonne, distributed in the churches, thrown into the streets, and pushed under doors. The Bishop of Paris also forbade the Jesuit Fathers to perform the offices of their sacred ministry ; but his power extended only over a small diocese. Paschase Brouet and the rest took refuge with their friend, the Abbot of St. Germain des Prés, who was independent of the bishop, and there they recommenced their good works. Ignatius refused to remonstrate, and it was not till much later that the order received a solemn vindication.

When Francis Borgia, still Duke of Gandia to the world, went to Rome for the year of Jubilee, he passed by Ferrara, at the earnest entreaty of Ercole II., his kinsman, and remained there four days ; he procured from the Duke a promise of a college for the company, which had been long known there. Brouet and Le Pelletier (still Frenchmen were chosen for that mission) established themselves in the town in the summer of 1551, and opened their schools. That year was

Faventino
Fannio of
Faenza.

1552

marked by a lamentable occurrence. Faventino Fannio, accused of heresy, was hanged in the piazza of Ferrara, and his body burned. He is commonly said to have been the first victim to religious intolerance in Italy; but Scaliger gives that miserable precedency to one Jacobinus, doubtless the same as James de Enzyma, who others suppose was also hanged and burned in Rome, in 1546, by order of Paul III. In the next spring Siculo was hanged at the windows of the Palazzo della Ragione, at Ferrara. He, too, was an heretic; though whether the Italian executions were for religious differences only has been disputed, and cannot now be fully ascertained. Renée could not consistently remonstrate, since the barbarous burning of Servetus, the long tortures of Jacques Gruet, and innumerable other cruelties acted by Calvin, had filled Geneva with terror for many years past.

It is well never to cease recalling the unquestionable fact, perpetually thrust upon us, in the history of all countries and sects, and up to recent times, that if superstition was cruel, there was no greater mercy in unbelief.

Renée was nothing benefited by the reconciliation of her husband with Henry II. of France. On the contrary, that monarch sent Mattea Ori, the inquisitor who had formerly examined Ignatius, to Ferrara, with a letter which, as given by Protestant historians, seems incredible in its tone of insult and cruelty to the unfortunate Duchess, his own aunt. It represents 'that the King not only approves, but indeed very earnestly prays and exhorts the Duke' to go nearly all lengths in persecuting Renée and her friends. There seems reason to think that Ori executed his commission with as much consideration for the poor Renée as was in his power.

He arrived in 1554. In the night of September 7, Ercole caused the Duchess to be conveyed to her prison apartments in the gloomy castle of Ferrara, the Stanze del Cavallo. A fortnight after, she sent for Le Pelletier, whom previously she would not see; and the same night the Duke and Duchess publicly took supper together, which announced to the population of Ferrara that Renée had recanted, and reconciled herself to the Catholic Church. The recantation, so extorted, proved itself as worthless as it was likely to be. Five years

after, on her husband's death, she returned to her former practices, and in 1560 left Ferrara for ever, at the request of her son, Alphonso II.

Borgia, when he arrived at Rome, was received by Ignatius into the Gesù; but he had separate apartments there. Ignatius treated him externally as a prince; in their personal relations Borgia was a novice. When he entered the house the Fathers were about to dine; he was invited to enter the refectory, and there, setting aside the honours which all paid him, he requested as a favour to be treated as one doing penance; he ate humbly the unsavoury food given him, waited on the Fathers at their dinner, and then went to wash the dishes in the kitchen. 1550

The conditions prescribed by Ignatius for his admission were nearly fulfilled; for during the last two years he had provided for the interests of his family; but his entrance into the Society was not yet known. Before Christmas he heard that Charles V. wished to give him a cardinal's hat; and in the beginning of the next year he found that the Emperor had actually applied to the Pope. On the same day that the news of this application reached him, Borgia wrote several letters to persons in Rome, declaring, in nearly the same words to each, that he had taken vows in the Society of Jesus. He left Rome for the Basque Provinces that night. At Oñate he made a formal renunciation of all his property, was ordained priest, and immediately commenced his apostolic labours. His declaration and flight June 1. did not arrest the proceedings in Rome. Two letters, written by Polanco, and by Ignatius himself, relate what happened.

Letter of Polanco to Borgia, 1552:—

My dear Father in Jesus Christ,—We have heard in many ways how pleasing your reverence is to God, by your spirit of humility and simplicity; and we now see this still more plainly in His preserving you from the high dignity which was designed for you. It happened ten or twelve days ago that, in leaving the Consistory, Cardinal della Cueva gave our Father to understand they were resolved to make you a cardinal. I was obliged that same day to go to Cardinal Maffei, and he also made known this news with great joy. I rejected the idea, as entirely opposite to the spirit of our order. 'And I,' said the Cardinal, 'would like to see your

order become a nursery-ground for bishops and cardinals.' But our Father Ignatius, after having conferred with Cardinal della Cueva, and sounded his dispositions, as well as those of several others, resolved to speak directly to the Pope about this; and did so, in such a way as to convince him that your present state of life was more conducive to the glory of God than your elevation would be. The Pontiff even added that he envied your position, and thought it happier than the Sovereign Pontiff's; for he said you have to think only of serving God, while his own mind was absorbed by many cares. And thus it was settled that you should not have the hat sent you against your will, or unless it was certain that you would accept it. Your reverence can now decide whether you wish for it or not. Our Father told the Pope that the sole fear of receiving the cardinal's hat had made you leave Rome, in spite of this cold and severe weather. He also spoke of this to the principal cardinals, and sent messages to the others, as well as to the ambassador, Don Iago di Mendoza, that they might distinctly understand the Pope's mind. Certainly every one would rejoice to see you in the Sacred College; but, after all, many are now convinced it would have not been a suitable thing. The project is therefore abandoned, since the decision is left to your reverence; and I know you would prefer going bare-headed in the sun and rain, to covering your head with this hat. In return for the good news I send you, I pray you to say for me a mass of the Holy Spirit, that I may obtain the Divine guidance to serve Him better.

By order of our Father St. Ignatius, your servant in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Rome, June 1.

GIOVAN DI POLANCO.

Ignatius was obliged to act in this affair with great circumspection. It seems at first, as if, when he had convinced the Imperial ambassador and the Pope, and Borgia, now owing him obedience, he had nothing to do but to forbid his acceptance of the hat. But he was not willing to cut the matter short in this way; for the Emperor, since the affair of Bobadilla and the Interim, was not well disposed towards the Jesuits, and it was necessary to treat his wishes with deference. In referring the decision to Borgia himself, Ignatius averted the danger of offence for that time; it revived, however, four years after.

Borgia now set himself at once to the active business of his new calling; he had no opposition to encounter from the Emperor, and when he wrote to ask his permission to lay

down his high offices and enter the Society of Jesus, Charles answered, 'that he would not withhold him from the service of that Great Master whom he had chosen.'

He made his residence at Oñate; it is a small town, not far from Loyola. There, Don Sancho of Castille, Don Pedro of Navarre, Don Bustamente, afterwards visitor in the province of France, resided under his direction. They lived on the alms which Borgia sometimes begged in the country round. Ignatius bade him evangelise Spain. He set out accordingly, visited the nobles, almost all of whom were his kinsfolk, preached to the people, edified the Court of Charles V., and in most of the larger towns left (if he did not find) the foundation of a college or house.¹ He went into Portugal, thence returned to Valladolid. Loyola named 1553. him commissary in Spain and Portugal; this office was afterwards absorbed into that of provincial.

When Strada came to Saragossa, his attempt to found a house for the Society was long baffled by the difficulty of finding a piece of ground; for the law forbade any new ecclesiastical building within a certain distance of those already standing. At last the land was found, the house finished, the chapel ready to be inaugurated; and the Archbishop of Arragon himself fixed Wednesday after Easter for this ceremony, when suddenly, on the day before, the Vicar-General ordered Father Brama, the Superior, to defer it. The Augustine monks, he said, declared their ground was encroached upon. Brama persisted; the monks excommunicated him and his companions, declared the town under an interdict; and the townspeople, excited by terror, and not well knowing what was the matter, went about the streets crying 'Misericordia!' Then they surrounded the new house, and their signs of exasperation persuaded Brama the wisest thing he could do was to withdraw; so, after fifteen days, the companions left the house. Then the Archbishop and the Nuncio interfered: they caused the matter to be legally examined; the Augustines were declared to be in the wrong; the Jesuits recalled. All the city, all its magnates, even Lopez, the Vicar-General, himself went to meet them, and

Ferdinand.

Lopez
Marcos,
Vicar-
General of
Saragossa.

¹ In two years Borgia erected houses in Grenada, Valladolid, Medina, San Lucar, Monterey, Burgos, Valencia, Murcia, Placencia, Seville.

they were received at the door of their house by the Viceroy, who presented them the keys.

Under the wise and active superintendence of Borgia, the order of Jesus increased all over Spain in numbers and influence. He was, in fact, its real founder in the Peninsula.

July 25,
1554.

When Philip, now made King of Naples and Duke of Milan, saw Borgia's great success and the increasing usefulness of the Society everywhere, he revived the idea abandoned unwillingly by his father, and wished to make him a cardinal.

Philip was then in England, passing his dismal honeymoon with the unhappy Mary; his sister Joanna governed Spain in his name. She had declared herself protectress of the Society. Ignatius and Borgia both supplicated her to dissuade her brother from this project, and Philip desisted at last, on her representation. Joanna wrote herself to Ignatius, and expressed her satisfaction in his constant refusal of dignities for his company. 'For God,' she said, 'gives a distinct spirit to each order, from which it cannot depart without great damage.' Ignatius was so penetrated with this conviction, that he said he would never recede from it, if all the world were supplicating at his feet. When, long after this, he heard that Paul IV. wished to make a cardinal of Laynez, he said to one of his house, 'Perhaps, in a few days, we shall have our Laynez a cardinal: if this happens, I will make such a commotion, that all the world shall know how the Society receives such things.' Finally, he added to his Constitutions, with Papal approbation, a prohibition to all the members of the company against accepting any office without the permission of the general, who was never to give it except by express order of the Pope. Nor were those three Jesuits who were named patriarchs and suffragans of Ethiopia any exception to this rule: there was here no danger of honours or wealth, and these priests went out to find only exile, privations, and peril.

Some members of the company proposed that this law should extend to the nomination of confessors to princes; but to this Ignatius would not consent, because he thought

it unreasonable to exclude any class of men from their spiritual care.

Joam III. of Portugal was the first king who asked a director from the Society. He sent for Luis Gonsalez, and made several confessions to him; but Gonsalez declined remaining with him. He sent then for Mirone, the provincial, who also excused himself, saying the honour of such an office was inconsistent with his vocation. But Ignatius, when he heard what his brethren had done, disapproved of it. He wrote to Gonsalez, that indeed he was edified by his refusal of what some desired, but he thought it right he should assist the King in any way asked of him; and King Joam being a pious sovereign, the charge of the royal conscience could not involve him in any perplexity. He need not fear being forced to accept preferments—those he could not receive without the consent of the general and all the company. If the residence in a Court were a cross to him, he should carry it patiently, believing all that is done in obedience to be agreeable to God. Six months later he wrote still more fully to Mirone. He said that, in accepting this office, they could not but work for the general good, and for the glory of God, because the subjects of the King must benefit by the spiritual advice they would give him; that the religious of his company ought not to shun any labours from fear of risking their own piety, else they might withdraw entirely from the world. But this, their Institute forbids; they must become all things to all men. If the world blamed them, or accused them of seeking consideration and influence, they should not disquiet themselves, but refute such accusations by their life. And Ignatius ordered that those whom the King or Queen might choose for their confessors should assent immediately. Mirone was to communicate this decision to the King, and show the letter if required. Aug. 9.

From many quarters these attempts to procure Jesuits for high offices long alarmed Ignatius. Albert, Duke of Bavaria, had in 1551 written to ask that Canisius might be made vice-chancellor of his university at Ingoldstadt, with a canonry. The answer of Ignatius repeats his usual objections:— July 25.

As to the dignity and honour attached to this office, which we deem it proper for ourselves to avoid, we reject all temporal rewards or return for our spiritual ministry, or works done for the good of our neighbours ; so that, being as far as possible remote from all appearance of covetousness, we may with a more pure zeal seek the honour of God and the helping of souls. This office being fixed and permanent, would bind Doctor Canisius to remain in the university ; whereas he has taken a solemn vow to go, at the bidding of the Pontiff, wherever he may be sent for the promoting of faith and Christianity. . . . And these reasons (Ignatius continues) I laid before the King of the Romans, when he asked some of my people to take the bishopric of Trieste ; also the Duke of Ferrara, when he desired a resident confessor out of the company ; and the Duke of Gandia, who asked the same for a nunnery established by his sister. Nevertheless, these princes remained favourable to the company.

But Ignatius had greater difficulty when Ferdinand again desired a bishop from him, and insisted on having Canisius for Vienna. The last bishop was a man of stern character ; religion had languished there ; no one had received orders in Vienna for more than twenty years. Canisius collected fifty young men in a house adjoining the college, and educated them in the principles suited to the ministry. Considering the state of Germany at that time, and the great good such a man as Canisius must have effected in a situation so prominent, there might well be some expectation that the resolution of Ignatius would now yield. Jeronymo Martinengo, nuncio at Vienna, wrote urgently to Ignatius in support of the King's request. Lasso, the ambassador of Ferdinand, again did all he could to prevail on the Pope to order Canisius, by virtue of holy obedience, to accept the bishopric. Ferdinand had promised Lasso, as he owned afterwards, a bishopric for himself, if he succeeded. But Julius III. had a high value for Ignatius, and told Lasso he would do nothing to displease him. 'If you can obtain his consent,' said he, 'I will readily give mine.' 'Holy Father,' said Lasso, 'he will never consent. It must be done without him, or not at all.' 'We want these Fathers,' replied Julius ; 'I cannot offend them. If the King can find some way by which they can comply with his wishes, without the bishopric, they will do it.' This answer was received as a

suggestion, and at last it was agreed that Canisius should administer the bishopric for a year, without receiving its rents, or taking any obligation to remain.

Borgia's refusal of the cardinal's hat so impressed a young kinsman of his, Antonio of Cordova, that he wished to follow his example, and enter the company of Jesus.¹ He was well gifted by nature, good and honest. Prince Philip, who liked him much, asked his father to procure for Antonio the dignity which the Jesuits rejected, and this was immediately done. But the young man desired, like his cousin, to shun the world and its honours. He wrote to Ignatius:—'Father, since God has placed you in His Church to be the friend of those who go astray, I pray you to receive me into the number of your children.'

Ignatius accepted him, and Antonio became one of the most useful members of the Society.

BOOK IV.

THE LAST YEARS OF IGNATIUS AND HIS DEATH.

PASCHASE BROUET was not long at Ferrara; Ignatius recalled him to Rome; thence Cardinal Santa Croce, whose confessor he was, sent him, for his health's sake, to the baths of Monte Pulciano.

About 1552 he was made provincial for France; this was partly in order to please the Cardinal of Lorraine. Brouet was wont to say that all his life he had been asking of God the grace of humility, but he had not attained it yet. Once, travelling (as usual) on foot from Billom to Paris, he came to a village where several men were thrashing grain; they mocked his mean attire, and heaped abuse on him; possibly they were sectaries, irritated by his clerical dress. He stood silently leaning on his staff, till they seemed to have said enough, then said, with a placid countenance, 'Que le bon Dieu vous bénisse et vous fasse du bien, mes enfans.'

He lived to see five colleges for the Jesuits founded in France. His death was suitable to such a life. When the plague was rife in Paris, he attended the sick, refused to

¹ He was the son of Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa and Catherine Fernandez of Cordova.

leave the Maison de Clermont, sent away the young ones and novices, and at last was left with only one lay brother ; then Brouet caught the disease, shut himself up, not allowing the lay brother to attend him, and died alone. He had first written on a paper, left conspicuous on his table, a notice that he had touched certain objects in the house.

The lay brother sent word to Billom that the provincial was ill, and Ponce Cogordan came immediately ; but he found only a silent house : the lay brother too had caught the plague, and both were dead.

In the year 1551 another eminent servant of Christ, destined like Ignatius for great things, entered the ecclesiastical state. Philip Neri, then thirty-six years old, received deacon's orders in the church of St. John Lateran. He had formed three years before a small community at San Girolamo della Carità. The modern Oratorians give a charming description of their earliest Fathers :—‘ These servants of God lived in that house with great charity, without any kind of particular customs, or any rule, but the love and reverence they bore to one another. They had no Superior, but observed only the order of seniority ; and so they lived a tranquil and almost a heavenly life, rivalling each other in the service of the Church, and in ministering to their neighbours.’ They were in number about fifteen, ‘ simple persons and poor, but full of life and piety.’ Philip had the utmost veneration for Ignatius—he said he had learned from him the art of mental prayer. He introduced at Rome the devotion of the Quarant’ Ore, which on the first Sunday of Advent is commenced at the Pope’s chapel, and thence goes on at one church or other throughout the year. Ignatius adopted this observance for his company in the latter part of his life. There was much similarity in the characters of these two saints. Both placed charity foremost among Christian duties. Philip Neri, like Ignatius, was a great lover of cleanliness, and held dirt in abomination ; he often quoted the saying of St. Bernard, ‘ Paupertas mihi semper placuit, sordes vero nunquam.’ With the Jesuits this was always a rule. Baronius applauded it ; the martyr Campion, in his description of a perfect priest, includes ‘ thorough ablutions ’ among the duties of every day. There was nevertheless

an outward contrast between these two holy men : the demeanour of Loyola was full of a noble gravity ; Neri would hop and skip in the streets, and when he was asked to show his library brought out a jest book. He said he did these things that people might not fancy him a saint. These differences did not hinder a close intimacy. It was a popular saying that the Jesuits wore no buttons on their cassocks because Philip Neri, talking in his familiar earnestness to Ignatius, had pulled them all off ; and Neri often said that the face of Ignatius frequently seemed to him shining with a divine light. He believed that no portrait could ever resemble him, because human art could not convey the heavenly beauty of his expressive countenance. Cardinal Tarugi, who saw Ignatius die, said the same thing ; he thought he must be a saint, because the language of his eyes was supernatural.

The letters which came sometimes from Xavier and his companions in the East were lent to Philip Neri, and read aloud to his little congregation. All Rome was interested in these reports ; they detailed frequent successes, an immense amount of conversions, sometimes disappointment in the support he received from the temporal power, without which no missionary projects have ever been fully or lastingly realised ; and this at length failed him completely, for neither King Joam, with all his profession of piety, nor his officers in the East, cared much for Christianity, if it did not include commercial advantages—an indifference which Xavier seems not for a long while to have appreciated ; for he was thrown into agonies of grief and indignation, as he tells his friend Gaspar Barzee, when the Governor of Malacca broke all his promises. And Xavier, thinking God called him to depend on His Almighty aid only, then formed that resolve of wonderful heroism which he announces to Father Perez at Malacca :—‘ If any way is opened to me, you shall find me either in a prison in Canton, or in the Emperor’s palace at Peking.’ For it was death for a Christian to enter China ; and yet Xavier thought to move the Emperor himself, as the Irish missionaries had intended to appeal to Henry VIII. some years before.

All his letters were full of the most ardent affection for

Ignatius and the brethren he had left. In 1550 he wrote:—‘I beg and conjure you, in God’s name, my dear brothers, to speak to me of all our companions, and of each one in particular; for having no hope of seeing them again in this life, face to face, I desire at least to associate with them in spirit.’ At another time—‘I cannot cease to speak of the Society when once I begin.¹ If ever I forget thee, Society of Jesus, may my right hand be given over to oblivion.’ And he thanks Ignatius, with the most touching gratitude, for his expressions of affection. During the last year there were some hopes that they might meet again, for Ignatius desired him to return to Europe, and meant, though he did not write it, that Xavier should succeed him as head of the Society. But the recall, which was despatched at last, came too late: the work of Xavier was done.

He perished within sight of China, to which he offered his life; for he knew that it was forfeited by law in any attempt to enter the kingdom. He was a true martyr, though not in the sense that he expected; and he died, like his illustrious Father and teacher, with none to give him the last sacraments—his own last mass was his last communion; his own prayers, and the answer God sent into his heart, his sole preparation for the passage into eternity: as if the Saviour, to whose work these two had devoted themselves, designed to show that He Himself was pleased, with no human intervention, to conduct their pure spirits into His Father’s presence.

The apostolate which Xavier accomplished or began in India has been differently represented as one or other prejudice influenced those who wrote. But one unquestionable benefit he conferred upon the world: he left for its admiration a character the most noble, loveable, and generous; a life not only eminent and extraordinary, but so irreproachable, that not a shadow of blame has ever rested on it, even in the narrative of hostile biographers, professedly writing

¹ ‘Si oblitus unquam fuero tui, Societas Jesu, oblivioni detur dextera mea.’ Words recalled by those of Father Southwell, the English martyr—‘Divulsum ab illo corpore, in quo posita sunt mea vita, meus amor, totum cor meum, omnesque affectus’ (separated from that Society which has my life, my love, my whole heart, and all my affections).

with the wish to disparage or deny his work. Considering what enmities he often had to encounter among the Christians who should have assisted him, and the commercial and political complications which opposed frequent impediments to his most cherished plans, it is remarkable that no trace of imperfection, no slight imprudence, no failure of judgment in unprecedented circumstances, can be discovered; and the pages which profess to censure, furnish to any impartial mind only materials for praise. He was, like Ignatius, a rare instance of Christian perfection, such as has been seen only in the Catholic Church.

One important conversion was effected or completed through the letters of Xavier; they fell into the hands of Nadal. More than ten years passed after the failure of Loyola's attempt to reach his heart at Paris, before he sought counsel from a holy hermit named Antony, then living where Nadal's family resided, in Majorca. It was given, in a very simple recommendation to devote at least a few minutes every day to mental prayer. From this practice Nadal advanced to form a wish of associating some other persons with himself, that they might devote their lives to preaching, and reform the world. One of Xavier's letters, recounting his great labours among the heathen of India, copied and shown from one person to another, reached Majorca, and it alluded also to the new company founded by Ignatius, and now recognised by the Pope. Nadal saw it; he remembered Xavier; he exclaimed, 'This is indeed a great work!' And he resolved immediately to set off for Rome, not to join Ignatius, but to receive from him information or advice which he might make use of in his own independent schemes. Laynez and Domenech were at Rome; they proposed to him to go through the 'Exercises.' Nadal complained of this, as if it were an attempt to draw him into the Society. He represented to Ignatius that he did not desire to belong to it, and thought he had not the endowments needful for such a life. Ignatius advised the 'Exercises;' the rest must come from above. 'If God inspired you,' he said, 'with the wish to belong to our company, He would know how your powers

could be made useful.' Nadal followed this advice: he entered on the 'Exercises' under the guidance of Domenech; he doubted and struggled till he came to that part which is called the Meditation of the Two Standards; then his heart was pierced, and his whole soul stirred up. One night, while he was watching in prayer and anxiety, the Lord sent a ray of light and comfort into his mind. And his own pen has recorded, that on November 23, being the eighteenth of the 'Exercises,' he resolved, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, to follow the rules of the Gospel and keep the vows of the company of Jesus. Nadal became a highly useful member. He was employed by Ignatius in different places, in offices of authority, not always without being suspected of extreme rigour. And on one occasion, the accusation reached Ignatius in such a shape, that he summoned Nadal to Rome, and caused an investigation to be made by forty Fathers, who decided that Nadal was substantially in the right, but had not sufficiently guarded the externals of charity.

The excellent man who was called 'il gran Giustiniano,' lived then at Rome among the Camaldules, and knew Ignatius intimately; when Ribadeneira afterwards saw him at the Frate, near Perugia, where he was abbot, he spoke with tender reverence of his virtues and sanctity, and exhorted the order to persevere in the paths he had traced out.

1552.

At Cologne the Protestant party continued active and powerful. All Kessel's efforts at propitiation had failed with the magistrates; he thought it best to leave the city, which he did, and wrote his reasons to Rome. But Ignatius, who had no idea of yielding to impediments, answered 'that he approved indeed, in these circumstances, a short retreat into the country; only Kessel and his companions ought not to remain long absent, or give up the greater object for the less. He could no way allow them to abide out of the town; for in small places there was less opportunity of reaping the harvest desired, and it was not right that they should desert a residence which promised abundant fruits. The youths they trained to be hereafter priests, or some way helpful to the State, would bring greater advantage to reli-

gion than any pains they could take in small towns or villages.' The perseverance thus enjoined was wholly successful, and the prospect of a college for the company sanctioned by Philip II. cheered the last months of Ignatius' life.

Kessel longed to see the face of his Father, Ignatius, and receive fresh courage from his loving counsels. He earnestly begged permission to come to Rome. Ignatius refused it, through Polanco, but wrote himself—probably at the same time, for it was a usual thing that two letters were thus sent from the Gesù together—'that perhaps his wish might be gratified in another manner;' and it was believed that Ignatius had actually been present with Kessel at Cologne, and talked somewhat with him. Ignatius himself never spoke on the subject. Kessel soon after met with a strange death: as he was passing through the orchard of the house, a furious lunatic rushed upon him with an open knife, and stabbed him, so that he could hardly utter the holy names before he expired; the Father Minister and another who ran to help him were also killed.

In 1550 the Roman college began an existence, at first impeded by jealous opposition, discouraged by want of funds and room, then rapidly progressing, and becoming at last, according to the hopes of Ignatius, a place whither all European nations sent their sons, and many were made worthy of the priesthood. These usually, but not always, attached themselves to his order. Father Pelletier was the first rector. On February 16 he, with thirteen scholastics from the professed house, removed into a small residence hired by Ignatius at the foot of the Capitol. The classes opened there were soon so fully attended, that they required a larger house. Ignatius found one near the Minerva, belonging to the Frangipani; he took it, and Francis Borgia enabled him to start it by a gift of 6,000 gold crowns. Ignatius offered to call the college by his name; Borgia refused this. As the external teaching was gratuitous, it withdrew some pupils from other schools; this caused resentment and jealousies in the city; and one day some masters whose scholars had

Jean
Pelletier.

deserted them, made their way into the college, and attacked with great fury the Jesuit who was then instructing. This incident caused Ignatius to write a letter to the rectors of colleges worthy to be given here :—

As the devil commonly takes pains to impede those things that work most against him, for the benefit of souls, so we find by experience here in Rome, in the new college, and observe in other colleges in Italy and Sicily, and indeed on all sides. Here a great zeal has seized some schoolmasters, so much, that one day lately, some came to the college and joined the audience of Master Joachimo, and found fault with him publicly, though they were in the wrong, and made too much scandal; so that the Cardinal of San Jacobo, protector, put one of them in prison. This very week, two boys being missed from their fathers' houses, the mothers came to our chapel during the mass, and called out and made an astonishing scandal, and also in the college, and at the house of some of the cardinals, as we heard from some of them, saying we had made the college on purpose to steal away people's sons, and that we kept theirs, &c.; and, in fact, neither of these (boys) had entered either our college or our house. I thought it right to mention these things, as a warning that your reverence may be the better prepared for similar accidents.

Therefore, if any schoolmasters should come and say that the masters of the college are ignorant, let them confess with humility that they are more ignorant than they would wish to be, although they try to serve God and their neighbours with the small talent that the great Father of families has bestowed on them, and finally let them modestly excuse their presumption. Let them take care also that none of the auditors of the schools admit (any children) without the assent of the parents, because the harm done by the disturbance and alienation of minds would be greater than the benefit in receiving them, having regard to the universal good; and there will be no lack of ways to aid the laudable desires of those who wish to enter, sending them to other places, or as God may instruct you.

January 23, 1552.

In the college were professors of philosophy and humanities, but it was not till three years later that it possessed a chair of scholastic theology, first filled by Martin Olave. Ignatius, appreciating thoroughly the excellence of the methods used by the University of Paris, employed in his new college only professors educated there—Ciarlat; Frusis, who

explained the Scriptures ; Ruggieri, Roilet, and Balthazar Turriano.

Father Quintin Ciarlat, won by the instructions of Adriani at Louvain, replaced Le Pelletier as rector in the Roman college ; many others succeeded him during the next six years. Quintin removed to Tournai, where Bernard Olivier much wanted him. When he left the college at Rome, Ciarlat assembled the inmates to receive his parting instructions. They were these :—‘ 1st. Practise carefully the virtue of holy obedience ; 2nd. Preserve the utmost reverence for Father Ignatius. Lastly. All your life long, ask of God that He will be pleased to give you the true spirit of the Society.’

Ciarlat possessed this spirit in an eminent degree. His charity was ever vigilant ; he often carried out at night relief to some miserable family who would be wounded if their distress were known to their neighbours. If he heard of dissensions, he applied himself at once to make peace ; he sometimes invited to dinner persons who had been long estranged, and so led them to become friends. If he found in the street a ragged boy, who seemed capable of being taught, he took possession of him, and put him into some way of learning a trade.

When Ciarlat heard that his sister had fallen into great poverty, he knelt down and thanked God for this blessing. But he sent her, at the same time, a large sum of money. He once undertook a penance, that was to last a year, for an impious wretch who had thrown the holy wafer on the ground and stamped on it.

In the summer of 1556, the plague was rife in Belgium. Ciarlat nursed the sick, administered to the dying, caught the plague, and then shut himself up to die alone. But Bernard Olivier, just then returned to Tournai, insisted on seeing him, gave him the last sacraments, and caught the disease from his friend. Ciarlat died two days before Ignatius.

Olivier recovered partly from the plague, under the care of the Carthusians, but he died in less than a month after.

Ignatius demanded extreme tenderness of conduct towards his scholars everywhere, because, without strong love, he was not sure that the strictness with which the rules of such an

establishment must be enforced would not result in a harshness that might estrange the hearts of the pupils; and this was contrary to the fundamental principle of the order—‘that they must always govern by love.’ A year or two before he died, he spoke of the rector at that time, Martin Olave, and said he hoped he would be retained after his death. ‘For you will not easily,’ said he, ‘find another so affectionate.’ But in the year following his death a change was thought necessary, and Nadal took Martin’s place.

When Polanco, charged with the expenses of building the Roman college, found his funds exhausted, and he had nothing more to pay the workmen, Ignatius shut himself up to pray. Then he called Laynez, Madrid, and Polanco, and said :—‘Though I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, I am persuaded the Lord will not abandon us. Do you (Polanco) keep on the college six months longer, and I will take care of it afterwards.’

When this passed it was evening; but soon afterwards two persons sent him a large sum of money, not knowing of his embarrassments. And during these six months, so many gifts came in, that the Fathers were not only well maintained, but paid off all their debts. Olave wrote to Ribadeneira, then in Flanders, that what was happening in Rome convinced him their Father Ignatius was truly a saint: for his people took all this for miraculous. Ignatius actually made a purchase for the college amounting to 50,000 crowns, while it was still very poor; and this sum was soon after restored to them. One great saint was received there as a pupil towards the close of Ignatius’ life—St. John of the Cross: perhaps in the spirit of prophecy sometimes accorded to him, he may have known what this boy of fourteen would afterwards become.

From its commencement the college rapidly increased. The pupils of the Jesuits everywhere learned more in six months than others in two years. Even Protestants withdrew their sons from other schools to place them with the new teachers.¹ Instead of seeking scholars, they were

¹ This is the testimony of Ranke.

obliged to be cautious in accepting those who presented themselves. In the preceding year the rector of Louvain, Adrian Adriani, had received a student of the university against the wishes of his master, who was highly incensed, and attacked the company without measure. Ignatius blamed Adrian, and bade him ask pardon of the Louvainois.

Another case, in which he was personally concerned, gave him occasion to interdict generally all such admissions. In 1553, a young man named Octavius Cæsar entered the company in Sicily, without the consent of his father; yet apparently not very much to his displeasure, since after the son's admission he gave the consent asked for. This father was secretary to the Duke of Monte Leone. Ignatius summoned Octavius to Rome, in accordance with his usual rule of expatriation; the father changed his mind, and followed his son, appealed to Julius III., declared the young man had acted against his wishes, and demanded an investigation. His wife arrived at Rome. With the impassioned nature of her countrywomen, she ran from house to house, complaining of a great injury, and exciting pity by her tears. Cardinal Caraffa, moved by her entreaties, and perhaps by his own silent disinclination to the company, ordered Ignatius, on pain of censure, to restore the son to his parents. But since the truth had not yet been fully shown, and Octavius had been led by no persuasion, but through a strong vocation to enter the company, Ignatius thought it his duty to disobey. He appealed to the Pope, who, when informed how the thing had really happened, cancelled the sentence of Caraffa, and decided that the reception of Octavius had been entirely legal. He also named a commission of cardinals, who should judge of any such cases in future. In the following spring, Ignatius addressed this circular to all the rectors of colleges:—

As it is our intention that young persons should be instructed and trained in our colleges and the schools belonging to them, in letters and good habits, and that thus good edification may be given to their parents, in this way, as well as by the other exercises of charity—that is to say, confession, preachings, and so forth, as the company is wont to do; it has appeared to us suitable in the Lord, to order all of you, and strictly recommend you, on behalf of God

our Lord, that no youth who may be still under the care of parents or guardians be admitted into our company, either in any college, or by sending them elsewhere, without the will and consent of those who have the charge of them; and much less ought they to exhort or persuade such scholars to enter our religion. For though it be in itself a thing permitted and praiseworthy to help those who are arrived at years of discretion, and (*etiam*) exhort them to a state of perfection, that is to religion, yet for our schools to exhort in this way, or receive any, we consider not advisable, for the greater service of God and the universal benefit, which we must aim at, rather than that of individuals, as is reasonable. And to make known to you this our order and decree, we have written to all the colleges to the same effect. We recommend ourselves much to your prayers.

From Rome, March 3, 1554.

It was particularly among the impressionable minds of Italy that such a declaration as this was necessary. It had its full effect in allaying the fear entertained by parents lest their sons should be persuaded by the Jesuits to join them; in Perugia, more particularly, the result was immediately visible, and a large number of boys were sent at once to the schools of the Society.

Bernard Olivier, the son of a worthy burgess of Auson, in Lorraine, had distinguished himself in the University of Louvain. He was destined by his parents for the Church, but preferred liberty and adventure; his father, disappointed and angry, told him he should have no assistance from him, if he even fell into the greatest distress. Bernard answered carelessly, 'That matters little, I will contrive not to beg at your door.' In his mother's heart was more compassion; she gave him some money, and he set off for Rome. There he offered his services to a notary, and like another Whittington won the promise of his master's daughter. For the notary, appreciating his good writing, his intelligence and honesty, lavished affection on him. Then Bernard was called on to defend the Franciscan Fathers against a cardinal-archbishop who had attacked their privileges. He did this with so much talent, that the notary told him he should be his heir, and the husband of his only child. But a dan-

gerous illness changed all Bernard's fortunes ; for one of the companions of St. Ignatius visited him, and he rose from his bed resolved to join the order. Ignatius did not at once consent to his request, and would not promise him admission. At last, Bernard, impatient to leave the patron whose friendly intentions he had disappointed, went to the Gesù and told the doorkeeper he would go out no more. Ignatius, who liked energy, was propitiated by this presumption, and allowed him to enter the novitiate ; then Bernard became ministro of the house. His docility and renunciation of self were the admiration of all. He was then placed over the new Roman college, but his health failed ; and he was bidden to try the effects of his native air. He presented himself at his father's house at Auson, and meeting him at the door, asked alms and hospitality. The father refused harshly ; he had not recognised his son. ' But,' said the suppliant, ' I know your son Bernard, who left you in search of adventures, and I can give you news of him.' Then he was brought into the house, and told his own history, without discovering himself. At last the old man exclaimed, ' Mais, c'est Bernard,' and wept for joy. They were a happy family that day ; the neighbours all came to bid the wanderer welcome. He commenced the work of his apostolate at once, and exhorted or instructed all the country round, till he was sent to Brussels to prepare the mission of Ribadeneira.

Ignatius, in a Latin letter addressed to the Margravine of Berg, says :—

As for myself, He to whom all the innermost heart is known, who Himself gave me this longing for the salvation and perfection of souls, knows what inward affection I have for all Germany and Flanders, and particularly for the inhabitants of Berg, and other subjects of your excellency ; so much, that as soon as He grants me opportunity and power, I will do for them whatever I am able.

And the German college was founded soon after. Ignatius designed it to train secular priests for Germany, where the scandalous and careless lives of the clergy had made them in effect the chief promoters of heresy in doctrine. He could spare but few members of his company to send

GRNELLI.

thither ; besides, in the state then of men's minds, furiously prejudiced against the Holy See, they were less likely to be easily influenced by priests of the company of Jesus, who were pledged to the Papal service in a peculiar manner. Germany had few resources at this time ; the old Catholic teaching had nearly died out. Except at Cologne and at Ingoldstadt, where John Eck had preserved the ancient traditions, the clergy and their methods were treated with contempt, and those of Luther and the Protestants had superseded them.

The regular orders were obnoxious to the people in many places, the secular priests ignorant and despised. Ignatius long sought a remedy, when, in 1552, Cardinal Morone, who had been the Papal legate in Germany, and well knew the state of things, conversing on these subjects with Ignatius, but ignorant of his views, told him he ought to bring some young Germans to Rome to educate them for the Church. Ignatius communicated his ideas ; Morone adopted them at once. They agreed that the Pope must be immediately consulted. Morone undertook to speak to him, and he procured also the interest of Cardinal Cervini, who had much influence with Julius III. There seemed a difficulty at first on the score of means ; the Papal treasury was exhausted ; the two cardinals represented that many of the Sacred College would contribute. The Pope promised his support, if the cardinals would give theirs. A Consistory was assembled ; thirty-three cardinals approved the undertaking and promised assistance. Morone urged the claims and the utility of the intended college, in an eloquent discourse ; most of the persons present were already favourable. Some even desired to fix a sum which each should give yearly ; but this the Pope disapproved. He promised his own donation in these terms :—‘As it becomes us to set the example in an undertaking so holy, pious, and praiseworthy, we will contribute yearly 500 golden crowns.’ The planning and directing of the new college were left with Ignatius and his company ; he was enjoined to draw up its code of regulations. He set about the work with his wonted activity ; on July 29 following, he sent an outline of the statutes he proposed to Cardinal Carpi, then at Viterbo.

He wrote also at some length to Le Jay, on the next day, July 30; but Le Jay could hardly have received the letter, for he died on August 6.

Ribadeneira was summoned from Palermo to open the German college; he met on the way an accident which delayed his arrival. At Valineto, eight leagues from Rome, he rose before daylight to set off on his journey, and in the dark, stumbled and fell down stairs, from the second-floor to the ground; he was taken up senseless, but after another day and night he was able to reach Rome. Ignatius had heard of the disaster, and went to meet him full of solicitude and love.

When the German college was fairly begun, and twenty- 1552.
four youths ready to enter it, Ignatius procured them a house close to the Gesù. It was formally opened on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude; Ribadeneira and several cardinals preached and collected money for it that day.

In this, as in many other inestimable reforms, the world owes gratitude to Ignatius; for when Laynez, long before, proposed the establishing of such colleges to the prelates assembled at the Council of Trent, his suggestion received little encouragement. The necessity of a higher and much more careful education of the clergy, which would ensure them a large amount of learning, without taking them wholly from that intercourse with the world which is desirable for men destined to work in it, was not yet understood. Some time later Cardinal Morone, president of the Council, revived the idea, and warmly recommended it. He was able then to enforce his arguments by the example of the German college, already three years in operation at Rome.

Ignatius wished England to share in the privileges of these Germans, and when Reginald Pole went thither in the reign of Mary, he wrote to offer maintenance to as many young men as the Cardinal could send.

The Pope's Bull, instituting the new college, was given on August 31, and the rector received the privilege of granting doctor's degrees. Ignatius named as the first rector Father Andrea Frusis, who had been employed some time as secretary-general of the Society; for he found no German who was suitable.

On November 21 the young men first arrived from Germany, bound themselves by promise in writing to remain ever true to the faith of their Fathers, and obedient to the Pope. They attended the lectures of the Roman college; but as philosophy and theology had not yet been taught there, Ignatius asked permission from the Pope to erect professorships for these, which was readily granted; and hence began that eminence of the Roman college which has never diminished to this day.

A remarkable proof of the judgment with which Ignatius had drawn up the plan of this German college was given by the Council of Trent, when, in accordance with the proposal of its president, Cardinal Morone, it was adopted almost entirely in the decree relating to the episcopal seminaries.

In 1553 Ignatius wrote to Morone thus:—

Since the arrival of your reverence, which we desire so much, is delayed longer than we expected, it seems to me I ought to give you some account by letters of your German college . . . Their habitation, up to this time, is in two houses near our college; though we are seeking larger ones, as the number increases, and will increase daily. They are twenty German youths, besides a rector of our company, and two others, whom we keep with them for their spiritual help and government; these are exemplary and learned men. Besides these, there are other four in the college who, serving in external things for their salary, do their office very well. Among the twenty youths, many are well grounded in the liberal arts; and practising till October this year, either in languages, or logic and philosophy, which they studied before in Louvain or Cologne, they will then be fit to learn theology. The others will continue to study languages or philosophy, as may be suitable. In modesty and Christian manners they give a very good example, and we hope in their lives and their teaching they will be good labourers in the vineyard of God our Lord. We have already given them several preceptors in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and *etiam* prepared some in logic and physics. That they may accommodate their teaching to the more or less capacity of the pupils, the classes are exercised one with another, and they finish the course of the liberal arts in three years, in the manner of Paris and Louvain, and other renowned universities. For scholastic theology and the sacred Scriptures we shall appoint this October several lecturers, and these, like the others, are the best we have been able to find in all

our company, robbing the other colleges, because we judge this to be the greatest and most universal good, for the glory of God our Lord.

Rome, Feb. 25, 1553.

Three centuries later Theiner, who was once no friend to the Jesuits, nevertheless said, speaking of Germany:—‘I never cease admiring the incredible efforts of the Fathers in perfecting establishments for clerical education, and still more the magnificent results with which these have been rewarded.’

The system established by Ignatius for his colleges was, speaking generally, that of all Catholic schools at that time, and particularly that of Paris, both in the humanities and in philosophy and theology. He added some directions which concern the moral education of the young men. Some little information on the subject is given by Ignatius himself in answer to some person who had inquired respecting the day-pupils, who did not reside in the house:—

As to the out-door scholars:—

1. Every one, whether rich or poor, is admitted to the lessons or exercises in letters, for pure charity, without accepting any remuneration.

2. Those who are under guardians are accepted from them; and if they are to continue their studies, they must be examined to see if they will be obedient to their masters, in matters appertaining to doctrine and habits, quiet, abstaining from bad words, and in everything observing due decorum, and if they agree to this, they are inscribed in a book; and they are taken care of, that they may learn, and become good, as if they were in the house.

3. It is customary as much as possible to make them hear mass every day, and the exposition of Christian doctrine; and sermon, when there is one, every Sunday and festival, and confess every month, and they are accustomed to recommend themselves to God, and finally they are carefully guided in letters and religion.

4. For the little ones who cannot be ruled by words only, a corrector is kept at the expense of the college, who is present, and awes the young ones, and if the master orders it, punishes them, though they are to be beaten only when nothing else will do, and if this does not suffice, the incorrigible are dismissed.

5. As for the teaching in the classes or various schools, according to their capacity, they are taught humane letters, Latin,

Greek, and even Hebrew, if they are capable, and when there is a suitable number of persons already advanced in these studies, and that it is not more convenient to send them elsewhere, they learn also logic and philosophy, and the company provides lecturers, who go through the course of arts, and finally of theology as they do at Paris. And these not only give lessons, but exercise all the scholars in composition and disputes, and various conferences, which perhaps are more useful than (direct) instruction.

GENELLI.

Ignatius thought that education is chiefly an affair of experience and tradition; he abstained from theorising, and took the systems that existed ready to his hand, trusting for success to the spirit and perseverance with which they were carried into execution. But he maintained, above all things, this great principle, that the intellectual teaching should be subordinate to the training of the moral and religious character; and the company have ever kept this particularly in view. They endeavoured also to improve and enlarge constantly their scholastic system, both as to the matter and the manner of teaching. The plan which has always been retained in its chief features unites all advantages. It can only be understood and judged by experience, but it partakes fully of that character which Ignatius applied to the company generally; it bends to the exigencies of time and place, instead of requiring that these should be accommodated to itself.

Ignatius dreaded that the reading of classic authors might introduce into young minds a paganism of taste and morals. He thought long and deeply on this subject, as we find from a letter written by him to some unknown person, who must have been a prelate or cardinal, and after the year 1551, since the universities referred to did not then exist:—

I write now to salute your reverend lordship, praying the Holy Spirit to enrich you greatly in these festival days with His spiritual treasures, and also to communicate therewith a desire that our Lord has given me these many years past, concerning which it would be very grateful to me to learn your opinion which *etiam* may assist not slightly in its execution . . . Seeing young people are so disposed to receive and retain first impressions, whether good or bad, and because these first images that are offered them . . . are of so much importance for all the rest of their lives, and considering that books, especially classics as they are commonly taught to boys, as Terence, Virgil, and others, contain amongst many

things useful for learning, and not useless, but profitable rather for life, some other things very profane and unsuitable, and injurious only to listen to . . . and so much the more, if these are placed before them, and inculcated in books which they hear and in which they study, usually holding them in their hands. This considered, it seemed to me, as it does still, that it would be very expedient if we were to remove from these classic works all the parts that are unedifying or noxious, and replace them by others of a better sort, or, without adding anything, leave only what is profitable, taking away the rest. And this appears to me up to these last years most desirable for the good Christian life and good training of youth; but not seeing how it could be done, I did not go beyond the wish. Now, seeing that our Lord goes on thus, *impliando*, strengthening this His work in our company, by the means of His servants, not only with colleges, but *etiam* with universities, such as already there are two of, under the direction of our company, at Gandia and Messina, it seems as if this business became lighter and easier to carry into effect, at least in those places where the company has authority. But in this I should like much to hear your opinion, because if it appears to you, as to us, as I have said before, much may be done for the glory of our Lord God, as in that case I will explain.

This plan was realised afterwards, and with the happiest results. In attempting its adaptation however, it is needful, says Genelli, to bear in mind the wise maxim of Ignatius, that the best things are not best at all times and in all places.

He indicated Terence particularly as one of the authors to be ‘castigato,’ for the benefit of his scholars, which was sometimes done, we are told, by the substitution of conjugal for profane love. The drama generally was encouraged by the Society, and some plays are extant, by Jesuit poets, which, if written in a living language, would raise their authors to a high place in modern literature.

The elegant tastes which Ignatius had brought from the Court of Germaine de Foix revived in his directions for his young pupils; they cultivated music and acting, poetry and declamation; they had frequently *assauts d’esprit*, and at Rome he brought to these a distinguished audience; the disputes lasted many days; they were occasionally printed. The professors made harangues at the opening of these performances; the theatricals came at the close.

1543.

It is rather a strong instance of the approbation with which dramatic performances were favoured in the highest places, in those times, that when Paul III. had visited some years before the Ducal family of Este at Ferrara, a part of his entertainment was the performance of the 'Adelphi' by the daughters and sons of Ercole and Renée; Princess Anna, then fifteen years old, personating the hero. Leonora d'Este, afterwards made illustrious by the loves and misfortunes of Tasso, was one of the younger actors.

The Colonna family had long been powerful and earnest friends of the Society of Jesus.

Ignatius was greatly grieved at the scandal which was given to the world by the quarrels of Ascanio Colonna and his wife Giovanna of Arragon, ending at last in an open separation, and he resolved to make an extraordinary effort to reconcile them. In the month of November he set out with Laynez to visit the Duchess, who was at Alirto,¹ on the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples: she was nearest at hand, and probably the most reasonable of the two, and he would begin with her. When the day of his departure from Rome arrived, the heavy winter rains of Italy had set in, and Laynez remonstrated: certainly to start in such weather on foot, lame and feeble as he was, appeared hardly wise; but he said, he had never for thirty years postponed any work of charity for such impediments as these, and he would not now. Giovanna received him cordially, and his errand seemed perfectly successful, for the divergent spouses lived together again in outward harmony for some time. But then 'persons interfered,' it was said, and their discord became worse than before. Giovanna preserved her reverence for Ignatius, and after his death gave the Society a house on the Quirinal, called the Casa St. Andréa. Borgia placed the novices there under Ribadeneira. She was an accomplished and beautiful woman, friend and sister-in-law of that Vittoria Colonna so often mentioned among the patrons of literature in Italy in those times.

¹ Daurignac says Alvito.

Ignatius preached on his way to Alirto and back, exhorted the people, roused the clergy, and left in many places traces of his passage. The Cardinal of Burgos was at Alirto, and aided in these reforms.

On their journey home Laynez, always liable to attacks of ague and fever, became very ill. Ignatius wrapt him in his own cloak, and procured something for him to ride on with a real which had been given them in alms.

The remonstrances of Ignatius on the subject of Ethiopia had at last prevailed on King Joam to send out the bishop and coadjutors so long talked of.

In September, 1553, Oviedo and Carnerio, summoned from 1553. Gandia, and chosen for coadjutors, with some others, left Rome for Lisbon, where they were to find Nuñez, who bore the title of patriarch. They did not receive episcopal consecration till the following year. When these beloved brethren left their father's house for a perpetual banishment, some of their companions—Louis Gonsalez, minister of the Gesù, Olave and Ribadeneira—certain that they would meet no more in this world, obtained leave to accompany them a little way beyond the walls. They prolonged their parting, loth to leave the travellers, whose farewell had all the dignity of martyrdom and the solemnity of the grave, till long after the hour fixed for their return, and they did not reach home till two o'clock in the morning. This Ignatius regarded as an act of irregularity, and he was highly displeased. He imposed a fast on all three, and especially reproved Gonsalez, whose position in the house obliged him to set a good example. 'I do not know,' he said, 'why I do not send you away so far that you will never see me again,' and this pierced Gonsalez to the heart. Ignatius actually banished him for some days to the Roman college. He sent to Nuñez a long letter, detailing all the strongest arguments for the union of all Christians under the Bishop of Rome. This was for the benefit of Prester John.

Nuñez, after all, never assumed the authority of chief bishop. When he arrived at Goa, he found that one John Bermudes declared himself patriarch, said he was the true

man, and that the Pope Paul III. had entrusted Ethiopia to him; he had long worn the habit, and exercised the jurisdiction. Nuñez wrote to ask that he might return home, but Ignatius bade him remain in hopes of some opening for greater usefulness. It came out that the good dispositions of Prester John were as imaginary as most of his other attributes. He had little respect for Portugal and less for Christianity. There was not much to be done. Nuñez, accepting the place of retreat and subordination, as humbly as he had received the office of command, remained in the college of Goa, waiting for leave to return, or orders to proceed, only distinguished by being the most gentle, poor, and submissive of its inmates. But he had done already the work intended for him, and about two years after God called him to Himself.

Beato Sauli, the apostle-bishop of Corsica, had done much for its population, but a great deal yet remained to do. He had been removed before half of the people had ever heard the message of salvation, and of those whom he had personally evangelised, many, or the most part, retained but little of his lessons, beyond an affectionate remembrance. In 1553 the Genoese Republic applied for priests to the Pope; he desired Ignatius to send two of his order as missionaries. The two chosen were Sylvestro Landini, the novice from Margrado, by whom Ignatius had been so much displeased, and Emmanuel de Monte Mayor. They found the island barbarous, its faith only nominally Christian. Charles V., when its deputies presented themselves to offer the allegiance of its inhabitants, had received them with contempt.¹ The clergy there wore no distinctive dress, nor were their lives better than those of the laity. Some among them did not know how to say mass or hear confessions. The peasants had forgotten even the sign of the cross. Superstition, sorcery, polygamy, were not at all their worst

¹ 'Sire, les habitans de l'Ile de Corse se donnent à votre Majesté.' 'Et moi, je les donne au diable.' This retort of the grave and silent monarch seems not very probable.

offences; murders were frequent; revenge an honourable duty. Some Franciscan monks were established there, but as yet had done very little for the population.

The foreign priests went through the island preaching and converting; their success was great: this awakened jealousies; the priest who held the office of grand vicar resented a double offence, in their intrusion into his domains, and the censure their doctrine implied on his scandalous life. Others doubtless shared these feelings. He wrote to Rome such complaints of the arrogance, severity, and presumption of the strangers, that many cardinals believed there must be some foundation for these accusations, and Cardinal Sta. Croce made a formal remonstrance in this sense to Ignatius. He, in consequence, ordered Sebastian Romé, who had long lived in the house and obtained his perfect confidence, to assume the dress of a private gentleman and set off for Corsica; there, he was not to make himself known to the Fathers, but observe their ways of acting when they did not know they were watched. Romé went, and remained in the isle long enough to procure plentiful testimonies to the worth and great success of Sylvestro and Emmanuel. He brought to Rome letters from the Governor of Corsica, from magistrates, from the provincial of the Franciscans, and some private persons, all praising the missionaries. The cardinals, well satisfied, expressed to Ignatius their regret that they had been deceived.

About ten years after the arrival of the companions in Rome, and about eight after Ignatius had taken possession of the residence given him by Codace, they were enabled by some rich patrons to buy the house next to them, whose unreasonable owner had constantly annoyed them, kept their refectory dark, filled the courtyard with noisy animals, and then said the priests wanted to drive him away. They had still not space enough, and hired a house adjoining. Manares relates that when the increase of numbers made it necessary to prepare additional room, Ignatius asked to see the places the brethren were to sleep in, and he would have the additions made that their comfort required; though

the house was not their own, and they were then at much expense elsewhere. In the same spirit of confidence he declined, with many thanks, the offer made by a rich Roman to build a church for them. Ignatius did not like his plans; and said, 'A church will surely be one day built such as we require.' This was done by Cardinal Farnese.

When Ignatius sought a site for the Roman college, a gentleman proposed taking a spot which was vacant, near their own residence. 'No,' said Ignatius, 'the whole of this will be wanted for the house of the professed, and there will be none to spare, but two paces too little'—a sentence quoted as prophetic, but probably suggested by a conversation with the architect Labaco, a clever man, the father of one of the Society, whom Ignatius employed during these latter years.

The modern Gesù stands on the ground partly occupied by the house of Codace. It encloses the three rooms, reverentially preserved, and two of them used for Divine service, which Ignatius inhabited. There, he was as poor as any member of the house. All his library was his Bible, a missal, and the 'Imitation of Christ'; the furniture of his room was, like that of all the others, only a wooden table, a chair, a bed, and a candlestick.

At his scanty dinner he often received strangers, or some of his professed from a distance; but it was even then plainly and poorly served. Bobadilla, on some occasion when his portion was small and unsavoury, said, '*Modicum venenum non nocet!*' Ignatius would allow no dainties to be offered him; he was once angry that the steward placed before him a bunch of grapes when the others had none.

He would not, even for the sake of his beloved seminaries, depart from his rule of never asking temporal favours in any shape. When a college in Portugal begged him to procure that some church rents should be granted it, he made over the affair to the ambassador; 'For,' said he, 'we must concern ourselves with things divine and eternal, not such as are temporal and earthly.' An oath is still extant, written by Pelletier, rector of the Roman college in 1551, declaring that no property belonging to the college had been given to the professed house. This was because sufficient endow-

ments, and even wealth, were desirable for the support and education of the students, but for the Fathers he would not allow the smallest encroachment on that privilege of poverty which he called the rampart of a religious order, and bade his brethren cherish as a mother. The alms that were given him he spent on absolute necessities; all beyond these he gave away.

When the rectors of two colleges disputed about some point in which their respective establishments were interested, Ignatius made them exchange places. Margaret of Austria frequently sent him two or three hundred crowns; he commonly dispensed the greater part at once, keeping an account.

Near the Gesù resided a woman of bad life, before whose door the priests were forced to pass on their way into the town; she, to annoy them, swept rubbish from her house into the pathway. Ignatius ordered Father Emerico de Bonis, who was then sacristan, to go to her with a civil remonstrance, and entreat her to deposit her ashes and dust elsewhere. Now Emerico was very young and shy, and a novice, and he persuaded an elderly Father to carry the message for him. Ignatius commended his modesty, but reproved his disobedience; he made him stand in the refectory, and ring a bell, saying aloud at the same time, 'Volo et nolo non habitant in hâc domo.' The offence seems small, but the house was sometimes disturbed by unquiet spirits, whom it was necessary to quell or dismiss; he was forced in this way to part with a relative of Juan de Vega and Don Teotonio, son of the Duke of Braganza, who gave him trouble. Sometimes even the Fathers relapsed into some fault. One had particularly tormented and resisted Ignatius; when he said mass, he was heard to utter this exclamation: 'Forgive him, O Lord; forgive him, my Creator, for he knows not what he does.' And an inward voice answered him: 'Leave him to me, I will avenge you.' Soon after, the Father came in consternation to Ignatius, and besought his pardon. He had seen a vision in a church, which terrified him into submission; he was exemplary after this, but much afflicted.

Another rebel, who was a priest, took the rather odd fancy of walking about the house with his nightcap on, instead of the *berretta*, and when Ignatius remonstrated on the

indecorum, he answered, 'He could judge what was decorous himself.' He was sent away.

Ignatius always sought occasion to practise this virtue of obedience, which he enjoined so constantly. Alessandro Petronio, his physician, seeing him very weak from fasting, ordered him to have some chicken served for his supper, though this was the Wednesday in Holy Week; next day he found this had been done. Petronio wondered, for he did not expect such compliance; Ignatius said, 'But one must obey.'

Before this clever physician had been called in, a younger man who attended him prescribed extreme warmth, hot wine, an exciting diet, and keeping the windows shut, though it was August. Ignatius knew the treatment and the medicines were all wrong, but he complied, that he might set an example of obedience to his new order. He was almost dying, when Alessandro was summoned by the other Fathers, and all the previous system was reversed; he was medicined for an inflamed liver, which probably really was his malady, for under this treatment he recovered.

He was now past sixty years old, infirm, and broken in health, yet he often said that at a sign from the Pope he would take his staff and go on foot into Spain, or embark in the first vessel he found at Ostia, without oars, sails, or provisions, and not only willingly but with joy. A nobleman who heard this said, in surprise: 'But where would be the prudence of doing this?' 'Prudence, my lord,' said Ignatius, 'is the virtue of those who command, not of those who obey.' He thought it an imperfection to be too desirous to serve God in one particular way. When Laynez spoke of his great longing to preach to the heathens of India, he said: 'And if I felt such a wish arising in my mind, I would tear it out.' Laynez was surprised. 'Are we not obliged,' said Ignatius, 'to go wherever the Pope may send us? After that, I am equally ready to go to any country, and prefer neither east nor west, so that if I were inclined to any particular place, as you are, I would force my mind in another direction till the balance was even.'

He had, indeed, no wish for himself, but to be soon admitted into the Lord's presence. When one of the Fathers

spoke to him of some work for next year, 'Gesù, my brother,' said Ignatius, 'where do you find courage to endure the idea of living so long?'

He was accustomed to ask his brethren these three questions—If they were ready to obey in whatever occupation he chose for them? If they thought they were better fitted for one office than another? If under certain circumstances they would prefer one office to another? He expected a sincere answer to these enquiries, and that they should express to him any particular inclination or ability which they might possess or suppose. But he was best pleased with those brethren who, like Nadal and Manares, declared they had no preferences, and referred themselves entirely to the judgment of Ignatius.

It was remarked in him that no person seemed less agreeable to him than another; no deficiencies or faults were repugnant to him; he was beloved by men of opposite characters. His charity made this beautiful and wise remark: 'That there was not in the house one who did not in something give him an example to imitate, or some cause to humble himself by comparison.' When he heard of a brother saying to another, that Ignatius was a great saint, he sent for him, reproved him sternly, told him it was blasphemous to dishonour sanctity by finding it in a sinner like him, and he made the offender for two weeks eat his meals in a scullery. His confessor, Diego d'Eguia, had uttered expressions of admiration of his great virtue, and said he wished he might outlive Ignatius at least a few hours, that he might reveal what he knew; when this came to the knowledge of Ignatius, he made d'Eguia do penance publicly in the house on three successive evenings, and recite three psalms which mention restraining the tongue. Diego still said all he dared to say, and they believed in the house that Ignatius prayed to God to take him first, and that in answer to this prayer Diego's death preceded that of Ignatius by a short interval.

As he approached the confines of the other world, and its light seemed to stream upon him, his countenance appeared like that of one already beyond mortality; his sons said his face was a face for Paradise. He prayed God sometimes to

arrest the overflow of consolations, that he might be more careful and humble in His service, and then he thought God continued them, that because he was so old and useless, he might be at least fit for prayer.

In saying mass, he was all his life interrupted by his emotion ; the part beginning ‘*Te igitur clementissime Pater*’ particularly affected him. Once, at the ‘*Memento Domine*,’ which follows, Father Nicholas Lanoy saw upon his head a bright flame, and rushed up to put it out ; then the countenance of Ignatius showed him that he witnessed a prodigy. He was so attenuated by abstinence and fasting, that his existence appeared a wonder ; the examination of his body after death proved that he must have endured much pain ; and he took little nourishment, sometimes during the day only a few chestnuts—a remain of his Spanish tastes. He said once, ‘*If I lived only on the strength of nature, assuredly I should soon die.*’

Cardinal Carpi was used to say, in allusion to his indomitable spirit and perseverance, ‘*He has driven in the nail, nothing can extract it.*’ Yet there was so little of an imperious nature in him, that when directing the persons who were to hold offices of trust, he seldom gave a positive injunction ; his way was to explain his orders in such a manner that obedience became the spontaneous choice of those who heard him. Often when consulted by the Superiors, in hopes of special instructions, he would only say, ‘*Do your duty.*’ Those who failed in the missions on which he sent them he consoled with a generous kindness ; he never allowed them to be discouraged, or feel that his favour towards them was diminished. If he was obliged to receive a complaint, or an unfavourable report of any one, he would have it made in writing ; ‘*For,*’ said he, ‘*the pen writes more deliberately than the tongue speaks.*’ If he refused a favour, those who asked it did not leave him discontented : he gave the reasons, if possible ; if not, his kindness averted all resentment, and suggested compensations. He was very solicitous for that part of Christian love among the brethren which regarded their mutual edification and correction. When there was a ruling vice in one who consulted him, he bade that person examine himself frequently, named another in the house who should,

every day before dinner and at night, ask him if he had done this, and another who was to warn him when he fell into the fault. Sometimes these admonitions were to be given in writing.

At the Gesù the Fathers assembled every Friday to hear or tell each other of their imperfections ; four were appointed for this. Martin Olave, then head of the Roman college, took the lead, and desired some of his companions to tell him how often he had fallen into a particular fault which he was trying to overcome.

The members of the Society were forbidden ever to visit a woman alone ; some one was always to accompany the priest, and remain within sight, though not within hearing. Once an aged man transgressed this rule ; he was excellent, and Ignatius knew there was nothing to blame in his intention ; nevertheless, he made the poor old priest beat himself while eight of the Fathers recited the Penitential Psalms, and this Ignatius considered an indulgent sentence. After this occurrence, he wrote some rules for decorum and modesty, which the minister was to publish and enforce in the house ; and Ignatius was little pleased when he found this had not been done. He said to Ribadeneira, ‘ I framed these rules with great consideration, but the ministers do not correspond by their own care. Yet I tell you they have cost me much time and thought, and that I have made prayer on this subject more than seven times, and shed many tears.’

He ordered Laynez to read the rules aloud in the refectory, adding an exhortation ; he desired all the Fathers should be present, even those of the original number who were now in Rome, though these generally were exempted on such occasions, on account of their many occupations. While they listened, a loud crash was heard, reverberating through the house ; when the discourse of Laynez was ended, and they went to see what was the matter, they found a roof had fallen in the garden, over a place where they were accustomed to assemble after supper, for it was August. It must have crushed many or all of them, if it had not been for the discourse of Laynez. When Ignatius saw the ruins, he gave thanks to God, and then said to Ribadeneira, ‘ It seems as if our Lord designed to show that these rules are not displeas-

ing to Him.' The instructions of Ignatius descended even to minute directions, for the head, the eye, and the voice. A novice who was exemplary in his actions, looked about him more than Ignatius approved; he warned him by this mild reproof: 'Brother Giovan Domenico, why do you not show by the modesty of your looks that modesty which God has given to your soul?'

But after this public exhortation, the rule of external decorum was very scrupulously kept; so that one day the Fathers told Ignatius they were accused of hypocrisy. 'God grant such hypocrisy may increase among us,' said Ignatius; 'but I know no hypocrites in the Society, except these two,' pointing to Salmeron and Bobadilla.

His patience was suitable to one in whom nature was subdued; and he never moved hand or eye spontaneously, or without a motive. The infirmarian once, in sewing a bandage round his throat, ran the needle through the ear. Ignatius showed it him, and said, 'Look, brother, what you have done,' as calmly as if he felt nothing. When he was watching the building going on at Sta. Balbina, from some stairs in the vineyard,¹ his lame leg failing him he fell from the top to the bottom; he was not hurt, and took not the least notice; it seemed no way to discompose him, though Diego di Guzman, his companion, was persuaded that without a miracle he must have been killed.

One day, while he was discoursing in the house of some friends on divine things, a brother from the Gesù entered, and with a troubled countenance made him some communication; he only answered, 'It is well,' and went on conversing. When he took leave he said, 'Do you know what I have just heard? We owe money for the repairs of our house, and the officers of justice have just come to seize our furniture.' His friends were shocked. 'If they take away our beds, we can sleep on the floor,' said Ignatius; 'it is good enough for poor men like us. I shall only make one request, and that is for some writings of mine; but if they choose to take them, let them go, in God's name.'

But Girolamo Astalli, who heard this, became security for the debt, and next day the worthy Arzé, knowing nothing of

¹ Possibly the staircase still remaining on the north side of the house.

the matter, sent to Codace a gift of 200 scudi, which paid off the whole. Arzé had offered this sum for masses when he was very ill; Ignatius refused the money. Besides his own rules on this point, he said it was wrong to undertake the saying a large number of masses for a special object; it happened often that it was very burdensome, or almost impossible to discharge the obligation. And Arzé then sent the 200 scudi as an alms, which arrived very opportunely. Then Ignatius ordered much prayer for him in the Society, according to his wish.

As the company of Jesus grew in importance and in the Pope's favour, Ignatius found excessive caution necessary to exclude unsuitable persons, and no relationship or anyone's intercession availed in such cases.

Layne had two brothers in the Society. One, Martin, was exemplary; the other, Christophe, incurred a summary dismissal. When Ribadeneira begged for a little money to support him till he reached Spain, Ignatius answered, 'No, Pedro; if I had all the money in the world, I would not give a farthing to one who is expelled from religion for his own fault.' A disposition to judge harshly of others was an extreme offence in his sight; he dismissed Marino Andaluza, a man of considerable learning, and highly useful as minister of the professed house, because he persisted in showing this propensity, even after going through the 'Exercises,' which, as Nadal had predicted, failed to soften him. When Ignatius heard in the usual nightly report some instances of this, he called up Andaluza, though he was already gone to bed, and made him leave the house instantly.

Another Marino, doctor of the university of Paris, who taught philosophy at the Roman college, offended in something of the same way, adhering to some notions of his own respecting the Institute, which Ignatius failed to dislodge. Marino was dismissed; and it was very difficult in those times to find anyone to take his place: the students did not advance; one professor after another was appointed and removed. Louis Gonsalez lamented over the loss of Marino; Ignatius only said, 'Do you go and convert him.' For he had found it impossible.

Antonio
Marino.

Before resolving on an expulsion, he always considered the

matter maturely, and usually consulted some of the other Fathers ; but once decided, he was prompt and peremptory in the act. A young man who was strongly tempted to withdraw from the novitiate, appeared to him reclaimable, and he had much patience with him ; but being told that to all the persuasions of the elders to whom Ignatius had sent him he only answered that he would stay that night, but he would go in the morning, Ignatius said, ‘ Will he go to-morrow ? That shall not be, for he shall not sleep in the house to-night.’ And the young man was dismissed at that moment.

Leonard Kessel was fearful he should be thought too severe, when, having but fifteen subjects, he sent away half. Ignatius answered, he had done right, and bade him send away the others, and remain alone in Cologne, rather than tolerate any infringement of the rule. If the Fathers interceded for the culprit he would say, ‘ Would you have received him as a member, if you had known him as we do now ? Certainly not ; you must allow me then to send him away. We must try those who are accepted, and if they do not bear the proofs they must go. I will let you accept subjects ; do you let me dismiss them.’ When he showed the house to any stranger he sometimes said, ‘ This is our prison, and we leave the door unlocked that we may have no prisoners.’

Nevertheless it was not always a great offence in the eyes of Ignatius to wish to leave the Society ; he had patience with that weakness of human nature which the devil finds it easy to work upon till grace has taken full possession of the soul. Andrea, a Flemish priest, persisted in his resolve to return home ; Ignatius bade him go to Loretto on his way, and gave him eight pauls, a usual but very insufficient provision ; and some of the brethren begged that he might receive more. ‘ It is not well,’ said Ignatius, ‘ to encourage temptations in those for whose return we look.’ And Andrea actually changed his mind at Loretto, and returned to ask his re-admission at the Gesù.

If the fault committed was not very grave, and not publicly known, Ignatius bade the Superiors be indulgent, and often he inflicted no penalty beyond a reprimand. In all cases, venial or important, he showed the offender so

clearly the nature, degree, and consequences of his sin, that he was touched to the heart. Maffei heard him once address a brother of distinguished talent, but a wilful character, on whom remonstrances had long been wasted, with such energy, and he warned him of the Divine vengeance with such zeal and force, that the offender fell at his feet. Those who stood around called out for mercy; the very walls of the room seemed to tremble. But this, says Maffei, was an unusual occurrence. For his affection for all his brethren was so tender and earnest, that he stood among them as a most kind father among dutiful sons. Whenever he met them, his countenance and words were full of love; he never suffered any opportunity to pass of giving them pleasure; he watched over them, and cared for all their wants like one who was their servant as well as their master; he anticipated their requests, and made a note of what he thought would be wanted.

But it seemed as if the resolve to quell all natural feelings made him appear coldest to those whom he valued most. When he had shown his recognition of their zeal and abilities by the employments he gave them, he was more stern in reproof, less expansive in the show of affection with them than with others. So it was with Laynez; so with Nadal; so with Polanco, who was constantly about him, ‘que era su secretario, y sus pies, y sus manos,’—who was his secretary, and his hands and his feet: he told Ribadeneira that till Ignatius’ illness became dangerous he had not for years spoken to him with any demonstrations of friendship. Laynez said he sometimes lifted up his wounded heart to heaven, and said, ‘O Lord, what have I done to harm the Society, that *El Santo* treats me with such severity?’ And Nadal received sometimes ‘terribles riprensiones’ in the refectory, that even made him shed tears. Codace, the generous patron and benefactor, who had done so much for the company at its first starting, and was afterwards made minister of the house he had given them, was frequently offending, and reproved; but he took it not at all to heart, and still said, ‘O soave Padre!’ and declared that even blows should not drive him out of the Society.

It was indeed only with advanced and nearly perfect cha-

racters that Ignatius compelled himself to this apparent sternness; with the young or untried he showed almost maternal indulgence.

There was a wall required on one side of the house, to enclose it from the high road. Ignatius ordered that the novices should take a part in this humble labour. One of these, a youth of high birth and well known in Rome, was ashamed of this occupation. Ignatius saw his downcast looks, his endeavours to withdraw from observation, and said to the master who was overlooking the work, 'Do you not see, brother, that this novice is tempted by shame?' The master said he had been ordered to employ all the novices on this work. 'When I give you an order,' said Ignatius, 'do I deprive you of your charity and discretion?' Then, going up to the young man, he spoke to him as if he saw that he was not strong enough for such labour: 'Go back to the house, and do not come here any more,' he said; 'this is not an employment for you.'

Upon this same work Lorenzo Tristano was employed; he was a grave and mortified man, and so silent, that Ignatius said words were heavier to him than stones. While he was paving a platform on the terrace, Lorenzo let fall an apple which had just been given him, and because he was ashamed of being detected in such a luxury by Ignatius, he pretended to take no notice; but Ignatius rolled it at him with his stick, and whenever Lorenzo tried to escape by turning away, Ignatius rolled it again.

An assistant-brother, named Giovanni Battista, very humble and mortified, who was serving in the kitchen one day, thinking as he looked on the fire of the pains of hell which awaited all mortal sin, and of his own offences, thrust his hand into the flames, and held it there till it was shockingly burnt; but when the stench thereof brought the house-steward into the kitchen, Giovanni, conscious that he had done a foolish thing, threw himself on his knees and asked pardon. The other brethren and the general hastened to the place. Many thought a man absurd enough to make himself useless in this way ought to be expelled; but Ignatius, pitying his sufferings and the motive which had caused them, prayed for him so earnestly all that night, that God was merciful and sent him a speedy cure.

Ignatius would sometimes give orders which had no object but to ascertain that the minds of his brethren were sufficiently supple and docile: he would order the cook and the theologian to change places; he would summon the priests about to say mass, and bid them take off their vestments. Once he did this as the priest with the chalice in his hands was just leaving the sacristy; he bade him put on his cloak to leave the house; the priest without a word did as he was desired. 'Were you disturbed at my orders?' said Ignatius. 'Not in the least.' 'Know, then, that I do not want your services, but to establish you in obedience, and be assured you have merited more by leaving the holy sacrifice than if you had accomplished it; for the Scriptures tell us that obedience is better than sacrifice.'

One who had asked with more insistence than Ignatius approved for leave to go on a pilgrimage, he not only refused, but imposed a penance on him instead. So when a priest came with his cloak on to ask his leave to go out, he said, 'Go back to your room and take off your cloak, and then come back to me and ask leave.' If any one threw himself at his feet and did not rise at his bidding, Ignatius went away and left him. He bade an assistant-brother sit down, which the man was ashamed to do, for there was a gentleman present. Ignatius made him put the chair upon his head, and remain in that way till the visitor went.

He dismissed an infirmarian who had led an exemplary life, and though all the Fathers entreated for him, only for an unbecoming jest. The poor man was dismissed without his habit or money to travel 1,200 miles home.

It was a lesson constantly repeated by Ignatius that discretion is an excellent part of valour, and he perpetually warned those who had a point to carry for the advantage of the Society, that when gained, it might be of less value than the goodwill which it would cost to an unguarded or impetuous disputant. He said there were two sorts of labourers in the Society: the first, those who did and did not undo; the second, those that construct and destroy at the same time, raising by their imprudence an opposition more mischievous than their zeal could do good. He was so afraid

of making enemies by a too apparent victory, that when Martin Olave had much perplexed some monks he disputed with, Ignatius forbade his returning again to these points. And he begged him to leave out one question in a work he was going to publish, which was likely to raise much irritation on the other side.

Father Reginald, a learned Dominican, who came to Rome about 1553, told Ignatius wonderful stories of a nun belonging to the order, in a convent near Bologna, which he had charge of. She seems to have exhibited signs like those of mesmerism—insensibility to pain, unconsciousness, obedience to one voice or name, along with spiritual rapture, the *stigmata*, or marks of thorns upon her forehead, whence the blood flowed. Then he pressed Ignatius to say what he thought of her. ‘Of all your reverence has told me,’ said Ignatius, ‘that which appears to me least suspicious is her readiness to obey.’ When the monk left him, Ribadeneira begged Ignatius to explain his opinion. He answered, ‘God works chiefly on the soul, sometimes so that His gifts flow over even to the body, but this rarely and only to persons very precious to Him. The devil cannot work on the soul; but he often produces fictitious appearances on the body, betraying the foolish into illusion and pride.’

And this proved to be the case of the Dominican nun.

A hermit named Antonio da Maiorica, renowned for his severe life, came to Rome and talked much with Ignatius. Nadal asked what he thought of him? ‘Before three years are over,’ said Ignatius, ‘he will leave his hermitage and his penitential life;’ and so it proved.

He would have given an opposite opinion of St. Pedro di Alcantara, whom he must certainly have seen in 1554, when Pedro came to Rome to ask the Pope’s confirmation of his congregation of reformed Franciscans. For Pedro was truly a saintly character, and did great service in the world and in the Church.

Jan. 14.

The steadfast patron of the Society, Joam, King of Portugal, died in the year 1553. Ignatius bade all his people say masses or prayers for his soul, and for his Queen and children. The company of Jesus lost no worldly advantage in this change; it continued prosperous and highly valued in

Portugal and Spain, in spite of fierce hostilities, as long as it had a legal existence.

The young heiress of Loyola, Doña Lorença, was much GARCIA. sought in marriage, and the intercession of Ignatius was asked by the Duke of Albuquerque, and the Duke of Najera, his early friend; he refused to interfere. But perhaps he was pleased when after all she was betrothed to Juan, son of Francis Borgia. Another Juan had asked the friendship of Ignatius. He wrote to him:—‘I have no claim on your benevolence, except that I am the brother of Francis, and a great sinner; I do not know which of these recommendations you will think the greatest.’

Another time he answered the Duke of Najera, on a DAURIGNAC. matrimonial project, rather more at length. The young ones concerned were a daughter of the house of Ozaete, which was allied to that of Loyola, and Juan de Guevara, son or grandson of the pious Maria de Guevara, who had taken care of Ignatius during his childhood. This was his letter:—

May the sovereign grace and eternal love of Christ our Lord salute you, and visit you with His supreme gifts and spiritual graces.

Juan de Guevara has given me your letter of February 21. I will make only this excuse for not having answered it sooner; it is full and obvious. Those who have renounced the world to follow Jesus Christ with more perfectness, ought equally to renounce and forget all worldly matters, that they may apply themselves with more ardour to meditation and the pursuit of celestial things. Therefore they shun all merely social duties, in order to expend a greater zeal on the things of God; but if any occasion were offered me when I might serve you for the glory of God, I would seize it eagerly, and in proportion to my insignificance I would show you how much I think myself bound to you and all your family. You would see too by what obligations I am indebted to your father. The only thing I could do was to recommend you to our Lord; I have always done this, and will to the end. I will pray God to give the greatest possible happiness to you and yours; that He may defend and direct you by a special protection of His grace, for the glory of His name.

As for the marriage about which you write to me, it is in the

nature of things so foreign to my profession, that I must quite abstain from it, all interest of this kind being too contrary and opposed to my occupations and habits of life.

I can assure you in all truth that I have not written a single letter to any of the Loyola family for ten or eleven years. I said to myself, that since I had renounced all worldly things, absolutely all, I had also quitted this family for Jesus Christ, and ought no longer to be attached to it, nor consider it as mine, having left it with a determination so fixed and well considered. But if, nevertheless, you judge that it concerns the glory of God that these two families and estates should be united, if you think that this would serve both the end that we should always keep in view and the interests of the two families, then I think you should summon the lord of Ozaete, and Martin Garcia, my nephews, and come to an understanding with them. From both must come the decision, as I have explained at length to Juan de Guevara; therefore I leave all the affair to your sagacious judgment.

I pray God to show us always the light of His will, and to grant us, in His infinite goodness, the grace to accomplish it entirely.

IGNATIUS.

Rome, August 26, 1552.

Jieronymo
Sauli.

The congregation of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, usually called Barnabites, at Milan, had been most kind to Fra Miona when he fell sick there on his way to Rome; they continued in friendly relations with Ignatius, and a few years after desired to incorporate their Society with his. This, in the year 1552, they requested of him, through Sauli, archbishop of Genoa, then vice-legate at Bologna; he answered, as he had done in similar cases before, that he highly esteemed the Barnabites, but that each order had its own particular character and aim, and that it was more for the glory of God that they should pursue them independently. He could not indeed have acceded to their wish, for he had twice rejected the same proposal from the Theatines; but it was obviously impossible that the Jesuits, trained by long and strict discipline and instruction to a distinct purpose, could profitably amalgamate with men accustomed to a different tone of thought, many of them advanced in years, and all formed to other practices.

The prior of the Chartreuse, Gerard Hamontan, long con-

tinued to send donations to the community, and these were sometimes more acceptable than he was himself aware of. Once, at a period of extreme necessity, Ignatius received from him one hundred crowns; he thanked him in the following letter :—

May the great grace and eternal love of God and our Lord Jesus Christ enrich and prosper your paternity and your holy brotherhood with a perpetual increase of spiritual gifts. Though we have seldom written during these last years to your paternity, yet our union with you in prayer has been frequent, so that on both sides we have often in the lapse of time felt that our mutual love has not vanished, but increased. This, on our part, we find in our lively remembrance and daily growing inclination towards you; and on yours, not only by the letters of our people, which relate the continual benefits that they receive from your paternity, but by our own experience of your generosity, which reaches us even as far as Rome, for which we give the greatest thanks to God, the cause of all good, and to your paternity. For your liberality came at the right moment to help the necessities of this college, and this proof of your great love has exceedingly strengthened the bond of our reciprocal friendship. May the Lord Jesus graciously reward you, in the riches of His great goodness, for these and all other kindnesses that you have shown His poor. The brethren in Rome are well; myself the Lord has visited with a malady of six months' standing, but I am now a little better; the rest your paternity will learn from our brothers, to whom we write more particulars. We all desire humbly to recommend ourselves to the prayers and sacrifices of your paternity, and of your honourable brethren, who are ours. Farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the eternal salvation and life of all. Amen.

Rome, Aug. 21, 1554.

The pious and liberal German deserves that we should here add his answer :—

Fight the good fight with the weapons of righteousness, to the right and left, most worthy Father, whom I must ever embrace in the arms of charity. I have received the letter of your honour, and I see from it that your health is in some degree restored, and also that you are so favourable as to admit me, an unworthy sinner, to a partnership in prayer and sacrifice with your holy company. I humbly desire to recommend to you myself and my brethren. I will never forget you, in the measure of that affection with which the Lord has inspired me for you, long while since, through Master Peter Faber, of pious memory.

The small gift that I have sent you deserves no thanks. I wish that the unquiet times allowed me to assist you as I should desire; I would find a sufficiently secure way to send to you, for I see the increase and perseverance of the community in good works begun. But in order to do something and take advantage of this opportunity, I send 500 golden florins; but I ask neither letter nor thanks; only prayer and silence, for I know the clerks (meaning the Jesuits) live on the alms of the faithful, and that they are bound to spend their superfluity on pious purposes; as I intend to do, by God's help, until I die, in order to satisfy my conscience, so long as, against my will, I retain authority here. May I see before I die a college of your brethren established in Cologne. I have said much on this subject to the prelates and authorities of the town, but the magistrates show themselves intractable. God pity us all, and keep your paternity, with your holy community, as long as possible in His holy work, which you have begun, for the welfare of the afflicted Church.

Dec. 27, 1554.

1552.

The time had now arrived when, by Ignatius' decision, Canisius and his companions were to remove to Vienna. Duke Albert, the University, and the town of Ingoldstadt, all saw their departure with regret. They started for their journey on foot, according to their custom; they reached Vienna in March. Two others were there before them, sent by Ignatius from Rome; they opened a numerous school immediately, with excellent success. King Ferdinand dreaded lest some of these useful labourers should be taken from him; he begged Ignatius not to think of it. He answered, 'that he had indeed been advised to recal one at least to send elsewhere, but that he was inclined rather to increase than diminish the clerical staff of Vienna. The Society was truly not numerous enough to supply the colleges which asked for them,' but he would set these aside for awhile, and none should be withdrawn without Ferdinand's consent.

1553.

Canisius, moved by the woeful condition of Germany, where, over large districts, religion was well-nigh extinct, and many knew nothing about the articles of their hereditary faith, till they heard these attacked and misrepresented by the Protestants, asked Ignatius to order every priest in the

Society to offer mass once a month, that God might turn the light of Catholic truth towards this people, and those who were not priests to pray with the same intention. Ignatius liked a request so accordant with the spirit of his company, and answered by an encyclical letter, to the effect indicated by Canisius, concluding thus, 'wherever the company exists, no province shall be exempt from this charitable duty, even at the most distant limits of the Indies.'

Rome,
July 25,
1553.

Next year Duke Albert again addressed himself to the Pope and to Ignatius, asking for Canisius and some others of the Society for the college which he was at last about to commence. He referred Ignatius for all details to his private secretary Schwickhard, whom he sent to Rome to transact this affair. Ignatius gave him the Bull of Paul III. and the statutes of the German college in Rome—flourishing at that time, and successful in its training of young candidates for ordination. Yet it had recently seemed on the verge of failure, and but for the great energy of Ignatius, ever unsubdued in what he saw was a good cause, the house would have been closed. In a year or two from its commencement, this college, which had received such large promises of assistance, and which had gone on hitherto with excellent results to the young scholars, fell into great poverty. Many cardinals and others, who at first helped liberally, now suspended their contributions; for the state of the Catholic world was more and more troubled, that of Rome deplorable in a high degree; Pope Julius wondered that God would permit him to be so afflicted. In the winter of 1554 the college was desperately poor; Ignatius had been frequently advised to close it. Otto Truchsez, its patron, and the warm friend of Ignatius, told him it would be better to cease the struggle against misfortune; the war now furnished him with an honourable opportunity of laying the burden down. 'If any one is tired of it,' said Ignatius, 'I will take his share upon myself; I would sell myself, if I had nothing else to dispose of, rather than desert these Germans.' In a short time the aspect of affairs had brightened. King 1554.

Ferdinand, moved by such perseverance, promised 400 gulden yearly, and other donations poured in.

All the histories of these times relate frequent instances of the rapacity and violence of the pirates of the Mediterranean. During the reign of Pope Julius II., the elder Barbarossa had the incredible audacity to attack the castle of Fondi, in order to carry off the beautiful Veronica, Lady of Correggio, whose fame had reached the ears of Saladin; and she only saved herself from being transported to the seraglio at Constantinople, by mounting a swift horse which carried her into the interior of the country, whither the pirates dared not follow. Forty years had brought no relief to the Christians, and since the potter's sons of Lesbos, in the early part of the century, established the supremacy of the Crescent over its waters, till now, when the last Barbarossa triumphed mercilessly on all sides, and led numbers of helpless Christians into slavery, no attempt to subdue the Turks had been of much effect. The expedition of Juan de Vega had left a fortress at Tunis in the possession of Spaniards, but it did no other important good: piracy was hardly diminished, commerce almost paralysed, and the coasts of Italy exposed to the most audacious attacks. They had small protection from the Christian sovereigns.

Charles, intoxicated with authority, monarch of the most powerful and most extensive kingdom that ever obeyed one man, wasted his strength uselessly against France, which was so limited in comparison; became weaker for every victory, and could not hinder Henry II. from conniving with the infidels who landed on his coasts, plundered his subjects, and carried them into slavery, where they were often driven to renounce their faith. While all this went on from bad to worse, Ignatius set his mind to work and devised a plan which could not fail to reverse this deplorable state of things; one that seemed a reflex of the old crusading spirit, but guided now by experience and better knowledge, to what would have been almost the certainty of success.

The state of affairs was very desperate; for the Prince of Salerno, leader and instigator of the Neapolitan revolts, had

recently fled into France, and there persuaded Henry II. to march against Spain. As Henry was too feeble to do this without assistance, he applied to his old ally Soliman, and induced him to send Dragut with 150 galleys, who landed in Calabria, and carried off large booty. But after long waiting in the gulf of Naples for the French fleet, which arrived too late, Dragut retired without doing anything more.

Loyola, before he communicated with the Emperor, desired the opinion of Nadal, who was removed in 1552 from Sicily to Spain and Portugal ; and Polanco wrote a long detail of the scheme in the name of Ignatius, which he prefaces by saying that he asks Nadal's advice, because he is not entirely assured of his own judgment in this matter ; if he were, he would ask counsel from no one, but repair at once to the Emperor, and devote the rest of his life, in spite of all impediments, to the carrying out this great object.

Perhaps Nadal discouraged the scheme at that moment. Time proved that it was absolutely necessary, but the accomplishment came too late for Ignatius to witness it. Pope Pius V. united at last with Spain and Venice ; the Mediterranean was made safe ; but Palestine remained in the power of the Mussulman. Genelli believes that Ignatius desisted because he became aware of the designs of Providence on this wonderful country, and knew the hour of its restoration to Christian masters was not yet at hand.

The evils of piracy were soon felt personally by Loyola himself. In 1554, one of his Society, a Frenchman named Jean Godan, was sent from Gandia to Italy, and near the coast of Sicily his vessel, cast ashore in a storm, fell into the hands of some Algerine pirates, who carried him with all the crew into Africa. Ignatius seems to have been greatly distressed ; he applied to the viceroy, Juan de Vega, to procure a release ; he bade the Superiors of the order who were in Sicily to offer a ransom, and make the utmost exertions for their brother's restoration ; they were desired every week to inform him what was doing. Unluckily the Algerines became aware of this great anxiety, and raised their demands accordingly ; they negotiated too long ; poor Godan died in captivity.

That same year, Paul IV. granted permission for three

colleges of the company of Jesus to be established in the East. An archconfraternity of the Holy Sepulchre was to be constituted at the same time. These powers were obtained by the solicitations of a pious Spanish nobleman, Pedro de Zarate, of Bermeo, commander of the military order of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; and the hopes of Loyola revived. He never relinquished his strong solicitude for the Holy Land, which had attracted him so forcibly in his early years. Even when the will of Providence had shown him that he must fix himself at Rome, he did not renounce the cherished visions of his youth; he longed now, with all his former earnestness, for the conversion of the infidels, the liberation of the sacred places from Mahomedan rule, and that union of all Christian sects there with the chair of St. Peter which was indispensable for their holding any strong or dignified position in the presence of Islamism.

Polanco wrote about this time to Father Bernard at Louvain:—

No one has been sent yet to Jerusalem, but three colleges are to be founded by authority of the Pope—one at Jerusalem, which is to be the head, one in the island of Cyprus, and one at Constantinople. Some of our religious will be sent there when the time comes; many are asking earnestly to be dispatched on this mission. During these last months the Pope has sent a patriarch to the Nestorians, and he declared in the Consistory on this occasion that he wished also to send some of our community. But since it has been found that a communication between them and ourselves can be made through India, it is resolved to succour them on that side. It is probable that they, as well as other eastern sects, will fraternise with us more readily when we have a college at Jerusalem; for these heretics come from all quarters to the tomb of our Saviour.

Unfortunately, Zarate found little sympathy amongst the wealthy and noble; those who were willing and able to promote such works wanted a college for their own town or country; but with little encouragement he proceeded to Spain, carrying with him the powers of the Holy See, and letters from Ignatius to Philip, then King of Naples, the King of Portugal, and Francis Borgia, whose interest would be useful at the Spanish Court.

Salmeron counselled his master to send Simon Rodriguez,

recently recalled from Portugal to Jerusalem, whither he had always longed to go, and there he might wait the opportunity of establishing the college. It seems there was no want of affection or confidence in Ignatius for his early friend, since he agreed to this; and Simon actually went as far as Venice, but there he became extremely ill, and relinquished his mission; he recovered and returned to Portugal.

The subject of these establishments in the East was revived before Ignatius' death; but nothing was ever effected.

There was rejoicing in Rome that winter: the English Parliament had formally petitioned that the kingdom should be again united to the Church of Rome, and Cardinal Pole, the most dignified and conciliatory of ambassadors, was sent to announce the ready affection with which Julius III. accepted the return of his erring children. For a while England was again Catholic, and but for the cruelties of Mary, the hatred entertained for her husband, and the doubtful birth of Elizabeth, which threw her on Protestant support, this better state of things might have continued, and the world would have seen, perhaps, the problem of constitutional freedom and Catholic piety carried into action, which is now only the distant hope and consolation of generous minds.

When Charles V., with Ferdinand, his brother, fulfilling the treaty of Passau, had assembled another Diet of Augsburg, in the hope, perpetually reviving and disappointed, of restoring peace, he did not at first convince Julius that he ought to send a nuncio thither. But at last Morone was commissioned to go and enforce the observation of the decrees of the Council of Trent. He arrived towards the end of February, and in March the news of the Pope's death recalled him to Rome. Feb. 2,
1555.

The Diet, many months after, resulted in the 'Religionsfriede,' obtained by so many concessions to the Protestants, that Ferdinand shuddered, it was said, in signing it, and Paul IV., by that time seated on the throne, was highly displeased, and sent Delfini to remonstrate. But the Diet of Ratisbon, which followed, only confirmed the Protestant

victory. It was but a promise of toleration after all ; but toleration was a wisdom not understood in those days : the faithful had not faith enough to believe in the ultimate triumph of what was good and true, unless the powers of doubt and darkness were repressed with a strong hand.

Julius died on the 23rd March. He had long ago retired as much as possible from public affairs ; during the latter part of his short reign, his time was chiefly spent in the house and gardens still seen between Rome and the Ponte Milvio ; the outer world was troubled, and he forgot it whenever it was not forced on him.

He was usually exceedingly kind to Ignatius ; his favour only once appeared diminished, when the Spanish bishops and priests, incensed at the decree of the Council of Trent, which obliged them to reside near their churches, resented this against the Jesuits. Julius, when he complained to Charles that his privilege as Pope was intruded on, received for answer, ‘ that the decree was not the Emperor’s but made by the Council, which the Pope had sanctioned, and therefore he was bound to enforce it.’ The Jesuits were known to approve the law of residence ; they were in favour at the Court of Castille, and their enemies represented to Julius that they had partly influenced Charles to give this reply. The Pope showed such extreme displeasure, that no one dared remonstrate, not even Cardinal Carpi, till Ignatius received from King Ferdinand a message to be delivered to the Pope in person ; he was then admitted to an audience, and turned it so well to account, that Julius restored him to more than his former kindness. He called his chamberlain, when Ignatius took leave, and said, ‘ I desire that when the Father Ignatius comes, he may be admitted immediately, and I am to be informed, whoever may be with me at the time.’ And he sent next day an alms of 500 gold crowns to the professed house. He had given the year before a revenue of 1,500 crowns to the Roman College ; at the petition of Borgia, he gave a vacant college at Saragossa to the Society. Once, when Ignatius went, as he frequently did, to ask some spiritual favour, Julius added, ‘ And have you nothing to ask me for your temporal wants ?’ Ignatius answered, ‘ No.’ The Pope then commanded him, on his

obedience, always to apply to him for assistance when the house of the professed was in difficulties, and bade the father who accompanied Ignatius to remind him of this.

The Conclave which assembled after the death of Julius could not give a more unquestionable proof of their desire to see the Church piously reformed and wisely governed than by electing Marcello Cervini for their new Pope. He had always been exemplary in his clerical life ; he had sometimes controlled and even reproved the late Pope, whose words were not always guarded, nor his demeanour at all times suited to his dignity ; he condemned his family partialities, though these were moderate, and stopped short of scandal ; and Marcello's own relations were not suffered even to enter Rome. He promised an absolute neutrality in political matters, and with this Charles V. was well satisfied ; he made retrenchments, and caused a scheme to be drawn out of many reforms ; but he first set himself to restore the solemn worship in the churches, which had but recently and imperfectly recovered from a state of incredible neglect. When Ignatius waited on Marcello to offer him the services of his order, the Pontiff received him with the utmost kindness, embraced him, walked up and down the room with him, and talked earnestly with him on the best ways of spreading the faith of the Church and restoring its discipline : he wished for these purposes to have always some of the Society near him, and desired that every member then at Rome should be brought to him, that he might personally know each. He said to Ignatius, ' You are soldiers ready for battle, and I will make use of you.' The rapid and extraordinary success which had attended the Society everywhere made great impression on Marcellus. He said, ' Since the days of the Apostles, no man has lived to see so much result of his exertions as Ignatius.' He particularly loved Martin Olave and Laynez. Olave, he had taken with him the year before to his bishopric of Eugubbio, and often called him ' mio maestro.' Laynez had been his confessor and intimate ally at the Council of Trent, and now he asked that these two should be allotted him as Papal theologians. Ignatius was well pleased, but would not confirm this choice himself. He referred it to the decision of the majority of

the Fathers, as it was much his custom to do. In former years, when Marcellus, then Cardinal of Sta. Croce, discussed with Father Olave the best ways of reforming the Church, he insisted that nothing could be so efficacious as to supply it with bishops and pastors from the Society of Jesus, who were so well trained in all the knowledge that perfects both the intellect and the soul. Olave represented to him the particular objects and system of Ignatius, whose heart was entirely devoted to the Church, and who was persuaded he had restricted his order in certain respects only to the great increase of its utility in others. And this opinion was so strong, he said, in Ignatius, that, after frequent controversies, he maintained it as fully as ever. 'I yield then,' said the Cardinal, 'to the judgment of Ignatius, for that has more weight with me than all arguments beside.'

But time was not granted to Marcellus to do much. And while all good men congratulated each other, and thanked Heaven for a Pope so fitted to heal the wounds of the Church and of Christendom, he was suddenly struck with apoplexy, and died on the twenty-second day from his election. Of all the reforms he projected, that which alone survives him was the establishment of music as a part of high mass, and this was owing to the sublime genius of Palestrina, whose composition, known as the 'Mass of Pope Marcellus,' is still frequently performed.¹

Bishop of
Ostia.

His successor Giani Petri Caraffa was a far more stern and hard character, but his election was again a proof of the conscientious temper which now prevailed in the Consistory. He was known to be an inflexible and peremptory reformer; he had been fervent and austere among the Theatines—he added to the Theatine spirit that of a splendid and despotic sovereign, when he was placed in the Papal chair. One of his first acts was to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and declare Mary and Philip its sovereigns; on the 21st of June their ambassadors were received at Rome.²

The Fathers at the Gesù thought that misfortune was impending over them when Caraffa became Pope. Ignatius

¹ It was in great part a beautiful adaptation of some old Benedictine chants. On the MS. was found written 'Adjuva me Domine.'

² It had also been given by Adrian IV.

himself looked grave, which seldom happened to him; but he retired to pray, then assured them they would still find a protector on the throne. And so it proved. The new Pope was crowned on June 5; he took the name of Paul IV. He received the ceremonious visit of Ignatius, with some of his brethren, graciously, and some days after sent for him again, and granted some requests Ignatius had to make for his Society, and for Ferdinand, King of the Romans. He even gave a singular mark of confidence in Ignatius: the Cardinal Saraceni, who was said to have managed everything for the Pope during the first year of his reign, having come to him with some petition, Paul referred him to Ignatius, and confirmed his answer beforehand. Otto Truchsez said he heard Paul speak often with such admiration of the Jesuits, that he should desire for himself no other advocate with the Pope than Ignatius.

Giovan
Michele
Saraceni.

It seems as if old hostilities must have been at work, when any signs occurred of some diminution of this goodwill. The fables related since of the concealed wealth of the Jesuits perhaps already existed, for one of the cardinals sent a poor nobleman of Rome to the Gesù, desiring Ignatius to give him money, as he much wanted it. Ignatius gave him all he had in the house, which was a very small sum, and only said, 'The Illustrissimo who sent you must have supposed us much richer than we are. I wish that I had more for you.' And one cannot but think the sun of courtly favour did not shine on Ignatius, when he was once allowed to wait fourteen hours in the ante-room of a cardinal, or when the Gesù was searched in 1556 by Papal authority for concealed arms. Paul withdrew the yearly donation hitherto given to the German college, and many cardinals followed his example; but this was no proof of enmity. Rome was then poor and harassed, the treasury exhausted, the war with Spain pressing, and full of terror to those who remembered the disasters of Clement VII. But Philip preserved an outward semblance of respect for the chair of St. Peter, and ordered prayers to be offered in all the churches 'that the Pope might be victorious over all his enemies,' while Philip's own army was advancing to the gates of Rome.

Meanwhile, in the city, supplies began to fail. Ignatius

saw that he could not keep his beloved Germans near him much longer ; but he would not dismiss them—he dispersed them among the residences and various friends of the Society in the neighbourhood, where famine was not yet imminent. All except himself now despaired of the college. It turned out that while others wanted, the people belonging to Ignatius always had enough. Luigi Gonsalez said, ‘This seemed to be a miracle.’ ‘It would be miraculous indeed,’ said Ignatius, ‘if God had failed to support those who trust in Him. Is it the first time you have seen that our supplies always equal our wants? For my part, I would undertake as willingly to support a thousand as a hundred, for one is as easy to God as another.’ A Father said he could not understand by what rule Ignatius was guided in this. ‘The more hopeless matters are,’ said Ignatius, ‘the more we ought to trust in God.’ He explained his expectations of external aids to Bobadilla. ‘But,’ said another, ‘these are uncertain resources, and even if not, they are insufficient.’ ‘And would you have me not look to God for anything?’ said Ignatius. One day when the bell rang for dinner, there was not a morsel of bread left, or any food ; at that moment a supply was sent for the whole house. Another evening their stores ran short of firewood, wine, and bread. Next morning a pious matron sent them a load of wood ; when this was taken in, the door by accident was left open, and hastening to shut it, they found that flour and wine had been left : who sent it they never knew.

Brother Giovanni della Croce, who was charged with the domestic expenses, coming one day in a time of great need from St. John Lateran, as he passed the Coliseum met a man who, without saying a word, came up to him and gave him 100 crowns of gold. And a second time, the steward Giovanni received a mysterious donation as he went out early in the morning to make purchases for the house. A man came up and put into his hand a purse full of ducats : Giovanni could not see who he was, for it was not yet daylight, and he thought this might be some device of the evil spirit. So he went into the Church of the Minerva to pray. But the ducats proved to be gold and not ashes, as Giovanni feared.

The Spanish ambassador, Marquis de Sarria, showed displeasure because Ignatius had not appealed to him for relief. Ignatius said to Ribadeneira, 'I will open my mind to this lord, and tell him God has taught me for thirty years to depend on Him only. If he offers us aid, I will accept it readily, but our trust is in God.'

His brethren believed it had pleased God to reward this confidence by a glimpse into futurity. For he declared that a Pope would one day be the patron of the German college, and adopt it as his own. Gregory XIII. fulfilled this prophecy. But Ignatius died while the war still lasted, and the condition of his beloved Germans continued precarious and disturbed.

All attacks personal to Ignatius himself had ceased long before his death; but his Society, in accordance with his prayer, was never to be at perfect peace.¹ At Paris the Sorbonne issued a complaint; the bishop and the University furnished the matter of it, partly invented, partly inaccurate, and perversely given. They published a decree which was sent to Rome; some of the most considerable Fathers of the Society counselled Ignatius to answer it. But he, following a higher guidance, said to them: 'My brothers, remember what Christ said to His disciples when He left the world, "I give you my peace, I leave you my peace." Take this now to yourselves. We must not write nor do anything that may create bitterness. There are cases in which it is better to be silent than to speak. We need not use the pen to defend ourselves, when truth will assert itself on our behalf. The authority of the theologians of Paris is great, certainly, and we must respect it; but it need not disturb us; we will find means, if necessary, which I do not expect, to heal this injury, milder and less dangerous than what you propose.' He comforted his distant and persecuted sons in France with his letters, full of wisdom and paternal care; he gave them such courage that they all declared they would die, if necessary, but never relinquish those

¹ Genelli remarks that in each country the hostility excited against the Jesuits showed itself in the same manner, and formed a sort of historic tradition, preserved even to our days.

labours for the saving of souls which had drawn these attacks upon them.

And what Ignatius foresaw happened. For when, in 1555, the Cardinal of Lorraine came again to Rome, he was accompanied by four of the most distinguished theologians in Paris—Sanchièrre,¹ afterwards made a cardinal; Despençe; Benoit; and Brichanteau. On the petition of Ignatius a conference was held in the palace of the Cardinal; the Paris doctors were answered by Laynez, Olave, Polanco, and Andrea Frusis, himself a Frenchman. Olave was a doctor of the Sorbonne; he was the chief speaker on his own side. Benoit was the accuser of the company. The answers of Olave are still extant; they appeared conclusive to the auditors; and when the Cardinal desired them to give their opinion, they said the decree had been drawn up without sufficient consideration. Benoit excused his conduct and his decree on the ground of misinformation. The Jesuits passed over his conduct, but showed that his decree was refuted by the Institute itself. And Benoit joined the others in commending Ignatius for not having appealed to the Pope or any cardinals. But, moreover, Ignatius obtained statements such as he needed from some of the sovereign personages who had been friendly to his Society.

He wrote thus to the Duke of Ferrara:—

Since your Excellency has been from the beginning so zealous a protector of our small Society, you will not wonder that we have recourse to you in a matter which concerns the obstacles that impede us in our labours for God; for even if we had not known by experience the goodwill of your Excellency, the interest you take in such things, as becomes a truly Christian prince, would encourage us to ask aid and protection from you, for the greater glory of the Divine Majesty. Our brother, Master John Pelletier, is charged to communicate several things to you, on the subject of the hindrances which have arisen at Paris against our Society, which has been introduced and, till now, settled there for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. We humbly therefore pray your Excellency to take the trouble, if you think it suitable for the glory of God, which is our object, of writing to the very Christian king. Many seek by evil reports to destroy his goodwill towards us; though I trust that,

¹ Jerome de la Sanchièrre, a Cistercian; Crispin de Brichanteau, a religious of St. Denis.

in the Divine goodness, the hostility of this city will help to prove the truth respecting this enterprise which God our Lord has himself begun by such feeble instruments, and that it will happen to us as formerly at Rome, when your Excellency deigned to add your help to that of Divine Providence in our favour.

This is dated March 9, 1555.

He wrote also to all the Superiors of the company, to ask the authorities of the places where they lived, or the princes, ecclesiastical or secular, to give testimony of their lives, doctrine, and Institute. In a short time, certificates poured in on all sides, expressed in terms the most honourable to the Society. At Ferrara the Inquisitor Papino attests 'that the Rector Pelletier, as well as the religious under him, have conducted themselves with so much piety and discretion, that not a single word against them has reached him, and in the professorships and other public offices have been so exemplary and so judicious that they have greatly benefited the students of the University both as to morals and learning.'

Gieronymo
Papino.

March 21,
1555.

A second testimony from that place came from the rector of the University of Ferrara and thirty-two professors; it was addressed directly to the University of Paris, and more expressly to the Superiors of the Faculty of Theology. After a high eulogy of the company, they say 'that the school and order of Jesus, like every other, should be judged by its works, and that these are worthy of all admiration. They teach the humanities without payment, and train their pupils in good principles at the same time; they preach, they explain the sacred Scriptures, they neglect nothing that belongs to our holy religion; and all the while they visit the hospitals and console the sick. For these reasons it would be better to call them into places where they had never yet been, than to expel them from any.'

Egidius, bishop of Modena, said that the Society of Jesus had made such an impression on the inhabitants of Modena and other towns, by their pure life, their Christian piety, their lessons and their example, that all under their direction made daily advances in virtue. He declared he did not say this for the mere desire of giving praise, which was far

from him, but to bear witness for the glory of God to what he had seen and proved.

Vicar-
General
and Inqui-
sitor.

In a statement sent by the Archbishop of Florence, along with his colleagues, he declared, among other subjects of commendation, 'that the Jesuits are greatly disposed towards all orders recognised by holy Church, and strive, as far as possible, to keep peace and true unity among them.'

We need not go into the testimony sent from Spain and Portugal, particularly from the Universities of Valladolid, Lisbon, and Coimbra, nor of two letters from the King of Portugal to the Pope. All speak of the Society with the highest esteem. At Louvain the University also declared for the Jesuits. So that the Sorbonne now stood entirely alone, and those who had the right to give a judgment had, almost all over Europe, decided against it. This must secretly have been a triumph for Ignatius, but he said nothing.

He had no need to make any further use of these attestations; for the intrigues of his enemies at Paris melted away as he had foreseen. But the censures of the Sorbonne were condemned in another quarter. The Inquisition at Saragossa drew up an edict with all possible consideration for the Parisians. 'Since some evil rumours had got abroad,' it said, 'that a foreign University had reported the company of Jesus to be dangerous to the faith, injurious to the peace and tranquillity of the Church, and damaging to the spiritual orders previously existing, the Inquisition declared these rumours false, and offensive to the Apostolic Chair; and ordered, on pain of excommunication, that all writings on this subject should be given up, all ill-disposed persons reported within three days to the Inquisition, and an absolute silence was for the future enjoined in this matter.' Finally, the effects of this unwise attack of the Sorbonne were the reverse of what they intended, for it hastened the establishment of two colleges of the company in France.

Herbert
Languet.

That of Paris prospered so remarkably that the Protestant Languet, envoy of the Duke of Sax, writing to his court in 1571, says 'the Jesuits throw all the other professors into the shade, and are gradually bringing the Sorbonnists into disrepute.'

And when the college of Billom asked aid from the cardinals of Lorraine and Tournon, they added to their answer these words¹: ‘O, fortunate that you are, whom the Divine Majesty has allowed to live at the same time with these men! . . . Take hold of that which is granted you. Embrace this Society of Jesus Christ, and adhere to its example and its instructions. We will endeavour, both for your sake and because it is our own duty, that France shall never lose this precious gift of God.’

‘The opposition of the University, aided by the clergy of Paris, the mendicant orders, and Eustache du Bellay, their bishop, was to no effect,’ says Du Boulay, writing on behalf of the University; ‘for the company of Jesus, one can hardly describe how, flourished and increased so rapidly, that it seemed all at once and everywhere to be received with almost universal welcome.’

A few months before the death of Ignatius, Luis of Grenada, defending the company against Melchior Cano, wrote to one of the Fathers:—

I well know that it is the way of our Lord to sweeten the waters with salt, restore sight to the eyes with clay, increase the children of Israel by the persecution of Pharaoh, and Christians by the attacks of tyrants. And this new opposition, striving to destroy the company, is forced to become an occasion to exercise it in humility, make it more and more pious, exemplary, circumspect, devoted, and thence rise to greater credit and higher favour with the world. So the means invented by this monk to oppress your Reverences will be used by God to lift you up; and instead of proving, as he says, that you are working for Antichrist, he will prove to have been working for you.

About this time, a scholar expelled from the German college for misconduct revenged himself by representations injurious to the house. The discipline, he said, was harsh and the food insufficient. The enemies of Loyola took up these statements and made the most of them. Canisius wrote to Ignatius, who answered in a letter containing these words:—

¹ Words more complimentary than musical; ‘O vos beatos, quos divina Majestas, temporibus his, horum virorum, dono dignata est!’ (Sacchini relates this.)

Respecting the report that the German college has not been successful, I do not know who, except the evil spirit, could have started it; the truth is, that by Divine help it has prospered to our wishes. All through these unfortunate times the pupils want nothing that is needful for their maintenance, or for their advance in virtue and knowledge. There are now thirty scholars in the college, in different departments, according to their different studies, and they give us cause to hope that they will distinguish themselves to the glory of God. It is our most pressing wish to increase the number of the good ones. A bad subject was received along with the others, and has been dismissed. You will see to the finding and sending us some promising scholars. They are treated here, we think, so gently, that we are astonished that anyone should say the discipline or the studies are too severe; twice in the week they go for recreation into the country, they are not educated with the smallest harshness, but on the contrary, with much indulgence, if they will only live in an edifying manner.

These country recreations were latterly taken always in a vigna adjoining to the convent of Sta. Balbina, and belonging to it.¹ Two days every week the pupils of the German college went there; two other days those of the Roman college, whom the people called 'gamberi cotti,' boiled lobsters, because of their red cassocks; the rest of the week was for the novices and boys of the Gesù. Once Ribadeneira was the Father sent in charge of them, and he incurred a grave reproof from Ignatius. They were playing at the game common in all times, standing in a circle and throwing an orange one to another; whoever let the orange fall was to pay a forfeit. Some one proposed that the forfeit should be to say an Ave Maria; this Ribadeneira ought certainly to have forbidden as irreverent; but he did not, and Ignatius was greatly displeased.

The Government of Belgium had frequently opposed obstacles to the acquisition of land or funds by the Jesuit colleges, and the exercise of their priestly ministry, on the pretence that they were a new order, and could not be admitted into Belgium without a special permission of the King. Here, as elsewhere, many clergy were among their enemies, who dreaded loss to themselves, because the Jesuits

¹ Not far from the Porta Latina.

taught and worked without payment. De Croy, bishop of Cambrai, spoke for this party, and interdicted the disciples of Ignatius all exercise of their ministry in his diocese. The nuncio in Brussels and Cardinal Pole both vainly tried to persuade him to retract this prohibition, in which he clearly exceeded his powers. Nevertheless, Ignatius ordered his brethren not to enter the diocese without De Croy's leave. They remained almost inactive at Tournai; and this moderation producing no effect, Ignatius addressed himself to Philip, then just arrived in Flanders to take possession of the States made over to him by his father, and sent Ribadeneira to the court at Brussels, with a letter entreating Philip's protection for 'this small Society,' but without a word of complaint. He prays the King to see and hear Ribadeneira, who will explain their wants.¹

Robert
de Croy,
1554.

Philip, so imperious in his cruelties, and well disposed towards Loyola and his associates, nevertheless did not choose to oppose decisively his Belgian counsellors and clergy, whose opinions differed much from those of the Spaniards. He would not insist on a recall of the interdict of the Bishop of Cambrai, though the voluntary submission of the Jesuits might have appeased his ecclesiastical jealousies. Philip referred the matter to the Bishop of Arras, and to the president of the Council, Viglius Zwicklen, their avowed enemy. Ribadeneira relates that they made difficulties, because all along neither bishops nor priests were willing to let the Jesuits preach and confess, and even the withdrawing of their minister Kessel for a time from Cologne had not sufficiently appeased their dread of encroachment. Soon after this, on April 14, 1556, Polanco, in the name of Ignatius, wrote again to Philip. He represented that the company had no interest to make them desire an establishment in Belgium, for they were not numerous enough to answer the demands made on them; they only

¹ The date, which is October 23, 1555, has given rise to much discussion, for the real date of Charles's abdication is not ascertained beyond dispute, but Genelli, quoting a Spanish contemporary, gives October 28, 1555, as the day when Charles resigned publicly the kingdom of the Low Countries, and January 17, 1556, for his renunciation of his other dominions.

sought admission there, because well-trained and thoroughly Catholic teachers were needed in a land so overrun with heresies. This touched not only the honour but the conscience of those who were called on to govern. The objects which the Society proposed to itself were so weighty and extensive, that its members did not suffice to carry them out; its opponents were either persons already infected with heresy or ecclesiastics who fancied their interests threatened because the Jesuits complied with the precept 'freely ye have received, freely give.'

These remonstrances were enforced by Mary, sister of Philip, and Antonio, Count of Feria, a natural son of Charles V., who had joined the Society in 1552, at the moment when the Emperor solicited a cardinal's hat for him.

Philip at last allowed the Jesuits to establish themselves in Belgium, though with several restrictions, which he afterwards removed. But Ignatius did not see with living eyes the accomplishment of his earnest wishes in respect of the Low Countries: the convention with Philip was not finally concluded till three days after his death.

The mission of Ribadeneira included another object; he was charged to explain throughout the colleges of Lower Germany the exact meaning and application of the Constitutions, which he had well learned from Ignatius himself. He carried with him from Rome a letter addressed generally to all the members of the Society in those countries. And it is believed that he was instructed to watch for any opportunity that showed itself in the King or the Court for obtaining admission into England for the Society; and give Ignatius immediate warning of a chance he earnestly desired. Both from Reginald Pole and King Philip he seems to have entertained great hopes; but some political complications perhaps interfered, for nothing was ever done in this direction. The story of Ignatius having asked to share the spoils of the Benedictines banished by Henry VIII. is absurd.

If we could judge Ignatius by any human standard, we should say he had now attained a full and triumphant happiness in the success of all the great objects of his life. The

'Spiritual Exercises' had received the solemn sanction of the Pope; he had collected, formed, and consolidated the Institute bearing the precious name of Jesus; he saw it in action over almost all the known world, producing inestimable fruits, and when it had too much of the prosperity he dreaded, he saw reverses borne with such meekness, such self-renunciation, such resolute humility, that the lesson of edification was never more forcible than when his brethren were struggling against aggression or contempt. He had heard that one of his company in India had received the honour of martyrdom: Father Antonio Criminali was killed in defending his Christian converts against the Badages on the Pearl Coast, off the Straits of Manaar. The number of the Society amounted to about 2,000, although only thirty-five had been added to the original ten of the professed.

His two colleges at Rome were now in full exercise. In about five years a hundred priests had been formed in the Roman college, and sent out to evangelize Europe; two hundred came in their place. He had defied successfully the difficulties that long impeded his German college, which lay very near his heart. He saw others arising in distant countries, patronised by kings and the highest persons in the Church. Three colleges were flourishing in Lower Germany; two in France; Portugal had seventeen institutions belonging to the Jesuits; Castille, ten; Arragon and Andalusia had each five; Coimbra and Alcala were already celebrated. Twenty-eight of the order were employed in Brazil; one hundred in the East Indies. Italy alone had three provinces—the northern contained ten colleges, those of Venice and Padua were become eminent. Ignatius retained the Roman province, including Naples, for himself; his friend Juan de Vega had introduced the Jesuits into Sicily; they were protected there by Charles V. and King Philip. Messina, Palermo, and several other places had asked to have colleges or missionaries. Even the unmanageable Corsicans were brought into a less savage state, and petitioned that Landini and Montemayor might remain with them. Of the two German provinces, that which included the Netherlands was not authorised by Philip II. till so short a time before Ignatius died, that this new success was never

known to him. But at Vienna and Ingoldstadt he saw his company established, and exercising a beneficent influence. The Wayvode of Transylvania had asked that some Jesuit missionaries might be sent him. They were invited into Hungary and Silesia. Crommer, the historian, ambassador of King Sigismund at Vienna, solicited priests for Poland. The request gave much cause for thankfulness, for at that court the bishops most in favour were Lasko and Vergerio, both apostates from the Church of Rome and married. Paul IV. sent Lippomani, bishop of Verona, to strengthen the influence of Hosius, his nuncio, with the King.

Sigismund
II.

John de
Lasko.
Peter
Vergerio.

Oct. 20.

Feb. 28.

And Ferdinand now prepared a last victory, 'desiring earnestly,' he said, 'to spread this holy order over all his States.' He had already, in 1554, asked Ignatius to send twelve of his company to found a college at Prague, and promised 'to receive them with all his royal favour.' He desired that two at least should be professors of theology. He wrote again to Italy next year. In the November following, Ignatius said he had sent away so many of his company that he could supply no more for a year, but he would remember his Majesty's desire, as he was bound to do. Whereupon Ferdinand writes, he felt no common joy, for he now entertained considerable hope 'that God had chosen this admirable and blameless order to work much good in these last times, and show this mercy to Christendom.' He adds that Canisius had recently gone to Prague, to examine the locality and see in what way and manner the college might best be founded and maintained. Canisius would inform Ignatius of the result; and the King then hoped the brethren might be soon sent.

Aug. 3.

In Prague there was a convent nearly deserted, belonging to some Dominican friars. The few Fathers who remained there were willing to exchange it for a monastery¹ which was then empty, and the Jesuits were put in possession of the Dominican house. Ferdinand charged Ignatius to pursue this affair; Ignatius had chosen some of his company, and was about to send them, when for some unknown reason an order given by the Pope forbade them to depart.

¹ Of Clares of St. Agnes.

It was soon recalled, and they left Rome for Prague about the end of January 1556. Paul IV. was fond of long allocutions, and addressed them, when they went to take leave, with much amplitude. As it was Lent, and they travelled the greater part of the way on foot, they were quite exhausted when they arrived at Prague. They gave Canisius, who was waiting for them, the letter which named him provincial. He was surprised and distressed; he wrote instantly to pray Ignatius to remove this burden from him; for he had no fitness, he said, to rule others. Ignatius answered that he ought to bend his neck under the yoke of obedience, and seek no escape; he must trust to God, who had chosen him to do great things for His honour, and who would help him with His especial grace. Canisius represented that he had long ago vowed never to choose any place or any object for his own use; and that this could hardly be made consistent with these new functions. This objection also Ignatius set aside. 'A religious,' he said, 'can make no vow without the assent of his Superior.' So Canisius exercised the duties of provincial at Prague till he went to Ingoldstadt, leaving there the last college established by Ignatius himself. It was prosperous from the beginning, and none belonging to the Society better fulfilled their divine mission.

But an act of liberality, which appeared remarkable in those times, brought censure on Canisius, and perhaps revived the old accusations of heresy. On the borders of the Moldau were living many Jews, and many Christians separated from the Catholic Church. These were chiefly of the sect called Hussites; the treachery of the Council of Constance was remembered by these people with a bitterness that excited a proportionate enmity against them among the Catholics, and the city of Prague was astonished and wrathful when the children of these unbelievers were admitted to the free instruction given at the Jesuit college. Some persons wrote threatening letters to the rector and professors, some attempted to frighten away the pupils. But, like all former hostilities to the Society, this passed away, and the wise patience of Loyola, communicated to his companions, overcame opposition with such forbearance and humility that no trace of irritation was left behind.

Feb. 4,
1556.

It seemed at this time necessary to form a new province of the order, now widely spreading in Lower Germany, of which Belgium was part, and Ignatius named for its Superior Father Bernard Olivier. But he had chosen one who was already in heaven. When Ignatius learned the death of his friend, he sent through Polanco instructions to the three colleges of Louvain, Cologne, and Tournai, to choose two or three religious suitable for this charge, their votes as usual to be given separately in writing, not consulting one with another, then sent to Rome. Again death arrested the nomination: this time Ignatius himself was called away, and the office remained vacant for a long while.

Dec. 12,
1555.

Canisius had been sent during the autumn of 1555 from Prague to Munich, and carried that winter to Rome a letter to Ignatius from Duke Albert. He asks in it for the professors promised him; but he wishes to connect with the college a seminary for secular priests, which was contrary to the rules of the Society. Ignatius sent him a copy of that part of the Constitutions which relates to the foundation of colleges, and said he referred all to the Duke's decision. Albert, upon this, set himself to remove difficulties, and on June 8 Ignatius writes to Counsellor Schwickhard:—

I have now remitted the Prince's letter to the Pope, by one of our brethren whom he always receives with pleasure [this must be Laynez]. He did not read it in his presence; so we can say nothing more on this subject, though we have, as we were bound to do, spoken at a proper opportunity our opinion of a prince so pious and so earnest in defence of the Catholic religion. Therefore we have also hastened to send the college [meaning of course the professors and a few pupils] before the heats of the season come on, moved also by this reason among others—that an unfavourable report which had begun to spread in Augsburg after the Diet, and the conjectures of some persons not among the least considerable, might be silenced by opposite facts; for all who learn that the illustrious Duke has called members of our company to Ingoldstadt, and created a college for them there, will at once understand how they have been mistaken in saying and supposing, I do not know what. I also procured that the college itself should be brought before the Pope; and while they kissed the foot of his Holiness, and received the apostolic benediction, two of our brothers, Diego Laynez and Giovan Polanco, who accompanied them, spoke much to his Holiness of the pious desire of the illustrious Duke of Bavaria to pro-

fect the Catholic religion, and for that purpose to form in Ingoldstadt a permanent seminary of clergy faithful to the apostolic chair. All this seemed very agreeable to the Pope, and when he had enquired a good deal about those sent, and had given many counsels, he ordered as he dismissed them that they should have money given them for their journey. But when our people answered that they wanted nothing besides the blessing of his Holiness, for the illustrious Duke had provided for them liberally, he and those around him seemed pleased and edified. Then they were taken to pay their respects to some of the principal cardinals: so that enough is known of the departure of the college of Ingoldstadt, to the glory of God and the tranquillising of those who hear of it. I have nothing more to add, but that I recommend the new college to your charity and friendship.

To the Duke Ignatius repeats nearly the same things; then he adds:—

Besides the rector, Master Thomas [this was Lentulus, whom the Germans called Lange], who is a doctor of theology, there are two professors. Among the others, some have taken their master's degree, and commenced theology; some will teach languages. Most of them are of Upper or Lower Germany. All have proved themselves zealous for the Catholic faith and the virtues of their order. I offer them to your Grace for your service, and the glory of God, in the same spirit that I would offer myself, if my health and the necessary business of my charge would allow me. I have impressed on them that they should devote themselves to what is contained in the articles, and moreover to exert themselves as far as possible even without any obligation, and I am convinced that your Grace and your illustrious successors will protect and favour your college (as you write it) as long as these brethren prove themselves serviceable for the general good. And I hope that not only their zeal will not relax in this service, but that it will daily become greater according to the custom of our company. It was very agreeable to us that Father Canisius, by the gracious permission of the illustrious King of the Romans, should assist at the opening of the college, and I have already written to him to be at Ingoldstadt as soon as possible. And that he may be the more efficacious in promoting the success of the new colleges, I make him provincial for Upper Germany, Bohemia, and Austria.

Yet, after all, this project of a Bavarian college fell to the ground, perhaps because it appeared less necessary when the bishops had established seminaries in every diocese.

Not long before his death Ignatius again recommended the most strict fidelity in their engagements to his sons at Ingoldstadt, and his wishes on both sides were fulfilled. The Dukes of Bavaria had never any cause of complaint; and the Jesuits continued to live under their friendly protection until the order was suppressed.

1555.

When Joam, king of Portugal, chose Mirone for his confessor, he also proposed to place him, along with another of the company, at the head of the Inquisition. Mirone referred to Ignatius, who forbade them to accept such an office. 'For,' said he, 'the mission of our Society is to succour our neighbour, in teaching and in confession; but all conspicuous offices and places, such as commonly lead to bishoprics, are contrary to its object.' Moreover he would not let its members have the power of putting heretics to death; their business was to console these unhappy people with Christian tenderness; and, in the spirit of humility, prefer these quiet duties to any that belonged to higher stations.

King Joam persisted, and renewed his request through Mirone. Ignatius was then disposed to yield; doubtless he meant to make it a labour of charity rather than of terror, and would have modelled the Inquisition of Lisbon after that of Rome, by far the most just and most merciful of any.

He wrote to Mirone, June 20, 1555:—

I learned from your letter of May 4 the wish expressed by his Highness to have a person of our company for Inquisitor at Lisbon, . . . and your reply. This affair does indeed require much reflection; there are strong reasons for and against. So, after having well considered and recommended the matter to God our Lord, I charged six others—namely, Master Laynez, Master Salmeron, Master Bobadilla, the Doctors Olave and Madrid, and Master Polanco, to say mass three days with this intention, to consider, and consult together, having heard what Louis Gonsalez had to say, and marked what you have yourself written to me from Portugal, and then give me their opinion in writing. We have at last decided, in our Lord, to remit the affair to his Highness, and do what he may consider useful to the service of God our Lord.

For since this charge is not forbidden by our Institute, we ought not to refuse to labour in a matter which concerns so nearly the interests of religion in that kingdom.

He then goes on to indicate the way of proceeding, so that all should be done by order of the Pope :—

If we assume the office (he says) we will make some proposals to the King, which, without any damage to the result he desires, will place the company in a position to fulfil this holy work in a more beneficial and edifying manner.

Some unknown cause stopped the negociation, and the Society remained exempt from any share in the power of the Inquisition. ‘Worüber,’ says Genelli, ‘sie sich nur Glück wünschen kann’—Whereupon they cannot but congratulate themselves.

But since Ignatius approved the establishment of some sort of Inquisition, it is fit to remind the reader that other ideas than those commonly conjured up by that word, now hateful to our ears, would have accompanied his suggestion to Pope Julius; the enquiry which it proposed was not necessarily harsh, nor beyond legal control—it only meant the investigation of certain actions, words or writings, which, in Spain and Portugal, excited alarm, because of the conspiracies perpetually suspected and often discovered among the Jews and Moors; in Italy, because the German innovations had now penetrated everywhere. And let it be remembered that these were quite as intolerant as the Catholic Church. Luther and Calvin,¹ and their imitators, punished and suppressed despotically wherever they dared; there was not perhaps anywhere so much freedom as in Rome itself—certainly no other sovereign in Europe allowed such personal attacks as we find against the Popes among the Italian poets, after the revival of literature and up to the 18th century. The Inquisition of

¹ The Protestant Robertson observes :—‘Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, and Knox inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments which were denounced against their own disciples by the Church of Rome.’ Hallam is of the same opinion, except only as to Luther, whom he thinks less barbarous than the rest. But Calvin’s cruelties were as atrocious and intolerable as any attributed to any Catholic Inquisition, though they have been smoothed over and almost concealed by nearly all his Protestant biographers. Guizot, from whom we might have expected candour, has even less than some Presbyterian writers.

Spain was in its original state almost wholly political; an arbitrary and rigorous effort of self-protection on the part of Ferdinand and Isabella; it was directed by Philip against heresies, and doubtless often with excessive cruelty; but the times were cruel, and we cannot judge the legislators of those days by any standard that would be applicable now. They knew no way of protecting their faith and country without terror, and this was so entirely in accordance with the national mind, that the Inquisition was at almost all times highly popular in the Peninsula. We know really little of its history; the relation of Llorente is said to be unworthy of credit, and his unpardonable destruction of its archives makes all investigation hopeless; we can only conclude, from other remains, that probably the number of punishments was insignificant, compared with what has been stated, and the time short during which these terrible laws were rigorously enforced. The despotic monarch was then supported by a fierce and superstitious people; and other jealousies than those of religion instigated the eagerness of the Spaniards to destroy or drive out the Jews and Moors. During the war of the Comuneros, when the rebels were asked what was their complaint against the nobles, they answered, 'They attack our wives and daughters, they will not pay their debts, and they *keep the Moors and Jews in the country for their own convenience*;' and doubtless these strangers were willing to buy from the grandees the liberty to remain, with money extorted from the lower classes, who struggled at disadvantage against the wealth and commercial adroitness of the infidel. It was well known that the Jews frequently passed themselves off as Christians, in order to obtain the emoluments of office, even of offices in the Church. Stories of bishops discovered to be secretly unconverted Jews, even an archbishop, performing in their horrible orgies the crucifixion of children, and still worse atrocities, exasperated the popular indignation into madness; nor did the Spaniards hesitate about inflicting death at the stake. When the plague broke out at Valencia, while Ignatius was yet a soldier, the townsmen believed certain sinners among them had brought down a judgment on the city from heaven; they clamoured round the courts of justice, that these men,

five in number, should be taken and burnt alive. The Alcalde was forced to yield, and could only save the poor wretches from the worst part of the sentence by secretly ordering that they should be strangled before the fire was lighted. In Spain the dread of heresy seems to have been perpetually reviving, even to an extravagant excess. Francis Borgia, who had given up so much that he might serve the Church, and when his life had been witnessed in Spain for many years, was accused after Ignatius' death of introducing heresies into the kingdom, and it gave him some trouble to procure a full vindication.

Gongora, the graceful poet, the generous and amiable nobleman, laments in one of his sonnets that at an auto-da-fê he had seen

Only one living man to feed the fire.

And when Archbishop Sandoval countermanded such a solemnity, the people of Seville, disappointed and angry, made a disturbance in the streets.

The Inquisition was in fact accepted in the Peninsula as a protection; the Popes always interfered to moderate its judgments; they had recommended greater leniency to Isabella, Ferdinand and Philip; they demanded also that the accused should be allowed to appeal to Rome, and there, it is asserted, they invariably received a milder sentence than had been given in Spain.¹ But in Rome, if the compassion was greater, the vigilance was certainly not less. Ignatius himself was an instance of this, and his order profited in no small degree, and in many places, by the investigations sometimes forced on him, sometimes invited, which were carried on by the Inquisition, and always ended honourably for the

¹ Lacordaire says that no contradiction has been possible of Abbé Berquier's statement, that 'there is no instance of a capital punishment for heresy at Rome.' And he (Lacordaire) thinks the Congregation of the Holy Office at Rome the mildest Court of Justice that the world has ever seen, the only tribunal which during 300 years has never probably shed a drop of blood, and has saved thousands who would have perished by the ordinary tribunals. At the time when Ignatius partly entertained the idea of directing the Inquisition of Lisbon, the atrocities of the auto-da-fê were yet unknown; the first of these monstrous spectacles occurred in 1559, three years after his death.

Society. He had indeed reason to be grateful to the Inquisition; and his personal experience might have made him willing to accept the direction King Joam proposed to him as a means of doing good. It is somewhat surprising to find that the three Cardinals who, by the Pope's order, examined the 'Spiritual Exercises' of Ignatius, before he gave his sanction to their use, were afterwards summoned by Caraffa before the Inquisition, and Cardinal Morone actually was for a few days its prisoner; a remarkable instance of the actual spread of liberal investigation, or of the alarm and jealousy it excited. Whenever we see a government despotic and irresponsible, we shall probably discover cruelty and lies; they belong to an arbitrary monarchy and a terrified people; they ought in no sense to be connected with the religion of Christ, which under all its forms is in positive opposition to them; and this has not been sufficiently insisted on, or we should not find honest and good hearts confounding as cause and effect things the most antagonistic, and reviling the gospel for crimes committed in its name.

In Rome, for obvious reasons, the Pope has never been an absolute sovereign; in the days of Ignatius, and since then, he has always been a good man. The Inquisitors of Rome were a court of learned divines, acute critics, high authorities on literature, ready to allow tacitly a considerable license to men of genius who did not infringe on certain points on which the Pontiffs were susceptible. If their jurisdiction was not what now appears to us humane and reasonable, it was at least in accordance with the spirit and general opinion of the times, and we have the testimony of Abbé Bergier, Balmez, and Lacordaire to support this assertion (which perhaps is yet not wholly indisputable), that no instance of death inflicted for heresy ever occurred at Rome. The prisoners of the Holy Office, from long time past at least, probably from the beginning, were kindly treated. The revolutionists, who in 1848 professed to throw open the Uffizi to a curious and indignant world, were obliged to collect from cemeteries and old iron shops the bones, chains, and instruments of torture which many a traveller looked on with pious horror, and quite forgetting that he might, if he were a North Briton, have seen similar and thoroughly genuine relics in his own

country not older than the time familiar to English imaginations in the pages of Scott as 'Sixty Years Since.' And it is wise to remember that the Duke of York of the last generation was the person who, as Bishop of Osnaburg, first caused the use of torture to be made illegal in Hanover, and that burning alive, and with all aggravations of cruelty, has been practised, discussed, and approved by men speaking the English language not unfrequently up to very recent times.¹

It is honourable to the sons of Ignatius that the first Churchman (nearly the first writer)² who dared to lift up a voice against the burning of witches was Father Frederic Spée, stationed in Franconia. He was the author of some religious poems, printed with the title of 'Trutz Nachtigall,' which were said to have initiated the modern German literature, by showing to the nation the unsuspected resources of its noble language. He had the miserable duty of preparing for their dreadful punishment the poor wretches condemned to the stake; some of these were children of six years old, or *less*! When the Archbishop of Mayence asked him why his hair was grey while his face looked not more than thirty years old, he answered, 'It is because I have had to accompany two hundred unhappy creatures to the stake in the few years I have lived here; and I believe they were all innocent!' Spée printed in 1631 his 'Cautio Criminalis,' urging greater precautions against condemning suspected persons without proofs. Yet he dared neither deny the crime nor protest against the capital punishment. He did enough, however, to deserve that Görres should call him 'one of the greatest benefactors of humanity.' Another Jesuit, Père Adam, was almost alone for a long while the persevering and successful protector of the Huguenots at Sedan. None knew better than those humane and acute men the two-sidedness of Christian charity, and that religious toleration, like all other liberty, never was or can be other than a compromise.³

¹ It is said to be done in America now.

² It is supposed that Weier, a German Protestant physician, preceded Spée by a few months.

³ The wise and merciful instructions given, in 1657, by Pope Alexander VII. to the Roman Inquisition, which make one shudder to see what

If we thank God, as we well may, that the Inquisition of Torquemada and Caraffa has passed away and its re-establishment become impossible, it is well also to remember that the passions of men, excited by differences of creed or race, are now, as ever, rampant and difficult to control; and that persecutions and cruel injustice may and do exist even in our own times, among other than southern populations, and under other systems than those of Rome.

1555. The winter of 1555 was tempestuous. Nadal and Gonsalez were wanted in Spain. Ignatius bade them embark without fear, for they would have a fortunate voyage. And the weather, which was stormy when they sailed from Genoa, cleared up, and remained propitious as long as they were on the seas.

The last college which Ignatius established in Italy was that of Loretto; he sent thither Olivier Manares with three or four others in the same year. Before they set off they made the usual pilgrimage of the seven churches; several students of the Roman college accompanied them, the rector Sebastian Romé allowed them bread and wine for their long walk, whereat Ignatius was greatly displeased. Sebastian excused himself because others had done the same. Ignatius answered, 'then he was wrong not to have put a stop to it.' St. Philip Neri was less scrupulous, and would not withdraw his permission to this effect, though some reproached him for it. Perhaps it was partly because Ignatius feared lest the extreme care he took of his novices should degenerate into effeminacy that he was strict in these matters. Another point that he adhered to particularly was, that they should kneel in their church without support, and the minister was enjoined to observe that they did this.

At Loretto Manares was as successful as the Jesuits were

tyrannous cruelty had been once exercised against the unhappy women accused of witchcraft, relate to that crime only, and make it almost evident that heresy in matters of faith was not noticed.

accustomed to be everywhere, but the house was at first tormented by extraordinary noises, and marvellous signs of being haunted by demons, who not only hindered the inhabitants from sleeping, but pinched and beat them in their beds, so that Manares or some other priest used to walk up and down the corridor all through the night to comfort the terrified men. The story resembles many told by Görres, and repeated up to our own times; little novelty of invention is shown by these malicious imps, and they were not dispersed it seems at Loretto by any prayers or conjurations, till a letter came from Ignatius assuring his brethren their torments would soon cease; and that happened.

They combated more ordinary devils with less difficulty; taught in all the country round Loretto, and hearing that at Macerata the Carnival was usually licentious, and the people left in no state to profit by the prayers of Lent, they went there, and preaching during the last few days, with exposition of the holy sacrament (as was the Jesuit custom), they not only collected large congregations in the churches, but persuaded the clergy to forbid the performance of a very unedifying comedy, which was in preparation for the last week.

Olivier Manares, when he was questioned by Lancizio as to what he had known of Ignatius, sent thirty-seven answers, some referring to matters already detailed. We give the rest here:—

‘When I was on the point of leaving Rome to conduct the new colony to Loretto, and going with my companions to demand the blessing from our holy Father, who was accompanied by his secretary, Giovanni Polanco, I looked much at him, thinking within myself that I might perhaps never see his face again. He sent Father Polanco, desiring me to remain to receive a message. “The holy Father has observed,” said Polanco, “that in your last interview you kept your eyes fixed upon him, which is contrary to humility; he commands as a penance that at least once every day in your examination of conscience you take notice whether, in speaking to any person to whom you owe reverence, you have repeated this offence; and after your examination you are to say a pater and an ave, and in the weekly letter which you

MARIANI.

are bound to send to him, you are to inform him whether or no you have performed this." This penance he made me persevere in for fifteen months.

'He used to permit me, or any other recently entered novice, and even invite us, to sit down and discourse familiarly with him, whenever he met us by chance in the garden or elsewhere. When I was ill he deigned to visit me and comfort me with paternal kindness, and he once gave me a vessel full of manna, and said to me, "Look, Oliviero, I have just received this manna from the Vice-Queen of Sicily, and I make you a present of it, that you may use it under the doctor's advice to strengthen you." Sometimes he sent for me, and also for others, to his private table, and helped us to pears or apples, peeling them for us himself. We used very often to hear him talking to himself and letting fall expressions of great humility, as, "My wretched soul," "Poor me," "Sinner that I am," and such like. In speaking of the Society, or in writing, he used the same kind of phrases—as, "this poor little Society." He never praised the Society, or very sparingly. His room, as well as its mean furniture, betokened great lowliness. He cautiously concealed his own virtues, and did not reveal the secrets of his soul or his devotional exercises and practices to anyone, and wished them to remain unknown. Thus Father Diego d'Eguia, an aged and holy man, "de candidísimas costumbres," exclaimed more than once, "O, if I could but tell you what I know of Ignatius! O, if my lips were not closed, what great things I could show you!" for he had a short time before been confessor to Ignatius, who had commanded him, in virtue of holy obedience, never to reveal a word on such subjects. Although he was so very weak, and might have lived with greater comfort in the college, he still chose to live by alms in the house of the professed.

'I have heard from Father Luigi Gonsalez how, in the time of Pope Julius III., some of the elders went to visit Ignatius when he was very ill, and as they were lamenting that in case of his death the Society would be in danger of perishing, he replied: "The first generation I hope are good, the second will be better, and the third will be better still."'

'And so I trust it will be,' says Manares, 'for it is clear

that the Society is now better and more perfectly formed than it ever was before.’¹

‘His mass occupied rather more than an hour, because he was impeded by frequent extacies and tears. On this account he celebrated less frequently and seldom in public.

‘I have never seen any picture of the holy Father which much resembles him. The one which hangs in the refectory where he used to dine is hardly like him at all; but the statue in plaster which is exposed at the Roman college when the vows are renewed is something like. One day, at the hour of recreation after supper, as I was with Father Everard Mercurian and the assistant brothers and some of the elder Fathers, Brother Ludovico Jappi wished to see if I remembered the features of Ignatius, and took the statue I have spoken of and dressed it up as much like him as possible, and disposed it on the bed as if he were lying down to rest, with a cassock and a berretta on the head, and then called to me that a gentleman was waiting to see me. I told him to see what he wanted; but he replied that he was very weak, and was lying down in the room. I went in, and when my eyes fell on the statue as I entered the door, I cried out, “Father Ignatius! Father Ignatius!”

‘But the face of Ignatius, as Philip Neri of pious memory observed to me, shone with a superhuman light, so that no resemblance could approach to it.

‘He was admirable in speech; for it was grave, solid, and efficacious. I never heard him say a word which seemed spoken by chance. None ever left him without comfort, instruction, and contentment, even if he failed in obtaining the purpose for which he came; such grace hung upon his words.

‘This fitness and precision were equally conspicuous in his writings. This good breeding he desired should also be attended to by his subjects. I recollect to have seen a letter to one of us, in which he severely reproves a slovenly writing. He says:—“I myself send off thirty letters to-night, not

¹ Chateaubriand, writing in our time, says, ‘*Les Jésuites se soutinrent et se perfectionnèrent jusqu’à leur dernier moment.*’—They went on improving up to the last moment.

one of which I have not twice looked over; and when I write with my own hand, which I often do, to persons who are worthy of reverence from their position, I write the letter twice, or even three times over, that there may be no blots, nor erasures, or other unseemly disfigurements.” ’

This fastidiousness is conformed to the principle Maldonat attributes to the Institute, which enjoins ‘that everything should be done as well as possible.’ ‘Faire tout en son temps, et se livrer tout entier à la tâche du moment, tel était le principe du Père Maldonat,’ says his biographer. And St. Francis Xavier liked to repeat—Be great in little things.

‘As he always resigned himself into God’s hands with great indifference of mind, so he desired greatly that his subjects should in the same manner resign themselves into the hands of their Superiors. An act of my own, as I understood from Sebastian Romé, greatly pleased our blessed Father. He sent for me in Rome in the year 1553, and proposed to me three places, to one of which he purposed sending me, and exhorted me to tell him candidly to which of them I preferred going. I replied that I had no inclination except to obey. He turned the matter many ways, that I might at least give him some hint of my inclination; and when I always answered that I could not in truth give any other answer, but that I was ready to go to any place, and, if necessary, to death, in obedience, he dismissed me kindly, and afterwards said he had been gratified by my indifference. Nevertheless, the holy Father used willingly to yield to the wishes of his subjects, because he deemed that government was better carried on, and made less onerous, by such consideration.

‘At the beginning of my government of the Roman college, perceiving that the passion of anger, which when I was a subject I had considered to be subdued, was again rising, and grieved at this, I went to Ignatius for counsel. He exhorted me to the contest, and told me that a moderated indignation, guided by reason and the fear of God, is a great assistance in good government; that I must therefore force myself to prevent its breaking out, and for the rest, I need not think much of it.

‘ I have more than once heard him say that he wished the men of our Society to be like the angels, who devote themselves wholly to the health and profit of mankind, yet at the same time continue ever calm and serene. One whose name I have forgotten complained that he was frequently interrupted in union with God, and distracted by being so often called to the door; to which Ignatius answered:—“ Receive those who come to you for spiritual advice with great charity, and as soon as you are called to go to them, make some ejaculatory petition, praying God to assist the soul of him who sends for you; then direct all your thoughts and words to his case, and your interruption will be to the great advantage of your own soul. But if people come to bring you news or for useless conversation, speak to them of death or sin, of offending God, of judgment and conscience, and repeat this as often as they come; those who want help will go away with profit, and those who do not care about their own souls will leave you in peace, and not return.”

‘ Three things he used generally to recommend, which are great helps to religious discipline—cleanliness in the house, silence, and keeping inclosure—these, he said, were signs of a healthy discipline. He was so particular about cleanliness, that he often visited the rooms himself, to see that the beds were neatly made, the books arranged in order, and the floor swept. He would not permit any talking, except at the hour of recreation after meals; when he heard any noise of voices or of footsteps going up and down stairs, he immediately opened the door and admonished the delinquent of his duty. Frequent penances were on this account imposed on the minister because he spoke loud or walked noisily, or banged the doors. Ignatius would not suffer the house-door to remain open for the smallest space of time, if not necessary, nor the keys to be left hanging in the door.

‘ He was very attentive to order in the various offices, and from his example the rule has been established that the rector sends for the minister every day.

‘ He was strict about subordination. One day, being rector of the college, as I was arranging the students at the door to go out in file to the sermon at the house of the professed, one of the Fathers who happened to be present, trusting to

his own authority and to his favour with Ignatius, ordered one of the scholars to go and clean his shoes before he went out. Pretending not to perceive this, I gave the order for all to start. The Father in question reported the affair to Ignatius, but the Saint kindly pointed out to him that he ought to respect subordination, and allow the rector of the college to exercise his authority without interfering.

‘ He would not permit the introduction of any novelty, however good itself, without the sanction of authority. Martin Olave, head of the college, who was a grave, pious and learned man, as well as very dear to Ignatius, having given a new order that the lesson from the Roman breviary (which had been compiled by Cardinal Santa Croce, and was in general use in the Society) should be read during meal-time, though, moreover, the lesson only contained the history of the Saint on that day commemorated, was publicly and severely censured by him at supper, for which purpose Brother Antonio Rion was sent to administer a reproof.

‘ This had great effect in establishing good discipline, and all of us who were present were greatly edified by the humility and tranquillity of Father Olave, who was so distinguished a man. It was not the thing in itself which was reproved ; for this Ignatius desired should be continued, and the lessons were afterwards read till the Roman Martyrology was substituted for it, but he would not have a good thing done in a disorderly manner.

‘ When he sent me to govern the new college at Loretto, he gave me hardly any instructions how I was to conduct myself towards the governor of the town, the canons, and others ; and I inquired what rule I was to observe, because the rules of the Roman college could not be acted on there, on account of the holiness of the place, and the great concourse of pilgrims, and in like manner it would be very difficult to observe the rules of the professed house. He answered, “ Oliviero, do as you think best, and as God inspires you. See and adapt the rules to the place as you best can.” I asked what offices I should appoint to the different subjects he assigned to me. He answered briefly, “ Cut according to your cloth, only inform me of all your arrangements.”

‘ It happened once that I did something contrary to the strict

meaning of a command I had received. I signified this to him, and told him that I had imagined myself in his presence, and had judged that he would say, "Do as you propose." He answered me that I had proceeded according to his wishes. "Man," he said, "gives you the office, but God must give you prudence. It is my wish that in future you act thus, without scruple, and do what you judge to be expedient under new circumstances, notwithstanding the letter of the rule."

'He desired that the members of the Society should have the same devotion in doing any work or office of charity that they have in prayer and meditation; this is the spirit which becomes it best, for it is our duty to do nothing except in God's service and for His honour and glory.

'He used often to say that an obedience which has only the will to support it, and wants the submission and consent of the judgment, is imperfect, and that any member of the Society whose judgment was in opposition to his superiors stands with only one foot, and is near to falling.

'He was so jealous of poverty in the house of the professed, that sometimes when the sick required a particular sort of wine which we had at the college, he would not allow a single flask to be brought without giving as much in exchange; this I have seen several times.

'When he heard of persons of honourable condition being in poverty, but ashamed to beg, he had regard both to their necessities and their pride, and gave them things to do, for which he might send them alms under the form of payment. I know of two or three whom he so assisted, and of one who received more than fifty gold ducats at once.

'Whilst I was rector of the Roman college, and we numbered twenty-eight inmates, the holy Father ordered me to prepare and furnish rooms for one hundred, and this at a time when all the money we possessed was five light gold pieces, which were kept for that reason by Polanco. When I thought of the buildings in progress at the house at St. Balbina, and at the college itself, I was ashamed of accepting them. However, we both determined to obey, he in collecting money, and I in borrowing furniture for the college. In the midst of these proceedings Ignatius came to see what preparations were made for those whom he purposed sending to

us. He found a great room in the roof filled with beds, chairs, and tables. When he had looked at everything, he turned to Polanco and said, "Alas! are our brethren to be lodged here? Are they to be exposed here to all the inclemencies of the winter? Where is the ceiling? Are they to have nothing but the tiles of the roof above them?" "But, reverend Father," said Polanco, "we have no money, and we could not borrow more." "Let the ceiling be done, Polanco," he replied, "and do not suffer our brethren to sleep thus; God will provide for His servants." It was a hired house, but Polanco obeyed, for the command was positive, and he had often experienced that the holy Father never did anything imprudently. The next day, as Polanco was setting out to borrow of friends, or of the bankers, he was met by the Archdeacon of Navarre, Mondragone, a Spaniard, who was well known to me, and he begged Polanco to accept of 500 gold crowns, and return them by instalments as he was able. Besides this, a Portuguese, who was procurator of the order of St. Girolamo, brought a much larger sum, with the same conditions. Not long afterwards these sums were repaid out of the alms of devout persons.

'About the same time Father Guido Roilezio,¹ rector of the German college, being greatly burdened by debt, went to the holy Father to ask assistance. It was near Christmas time, and Ignatius, after listening to the sorrowful tale, asked him with a smile if he had anything for the students to make merry with at the feast. Guido replied, "O Father, we have barely bread, for the baker says he will not let us have any more." "Away with you," said the Saint, "be of good heart, God will assist you. Master Guido, do you provide some kids and other things for the young men to feast upon, and leave the care of all to God." Thus he dismissed him comforted and cheerful, and on the day following Pope Julian sent 500 gold ducats to Ignatius, to be divided between the Roman and German colleges.

'I have often heard, especially from Father Laynez, of his great diligence in examination of conscience, and how he used to compare one time with another, and one week with another. His heart was almost always fixed on God, even

¹ Or Roilet.

when his attention seemed otherwise directed. Very often as he was walking in the garden I have seen him stop a little while, and raise his eyes in contemplation.

‘ When the offices for Holy Week were celebrated in our church, he was anxious that they should be done as well as possible ; he used therefore to send for those who were to take part in them, and make them rehearse several times in his presence.

‘ When he was going to send any Fathers to a distance, he used to make them come to him the day before they started, equipped for their journey, with their hats and staves and cloaks, to see if anything was wanting. This I have seen several times.’

In the autumn of 1554, the health of Ignatius, which had always been variable, began to give much cause for disquiet ; his occupations were now too onerous for him ; those about him advised him to take some companion to help him in the business of his charge. He had been formerly so earnest in asking to be dismissed, that they wondered when he refused ; probably he considered it more trouble to direct another person than to act himself. Soon after he recalled this refusal. Polanco wrote in November to Domenech, then provincial of Sicily :—

Nov. 13,
1554.

Father Nadal is much waited for by our Father, and by us more particularly, who belong to the members of the Council for the general business of the Society, because on one hand the multiplicity of affairs, from the increase of our Society, and on the other, the many and so to speak constant sufferings of our Father, which keep him almost always in his bed, and this last year particularly, make us want more help and relief for him than he has had yet. Therefore we represented to him that it seemed desirable he should choose some one who would assume his place and powers in our Society ; and he bade all of us priests who were now in Rome to assemble, so that each might offer the mass for three days, and pray and receive information one from another, if they required it, and then should write the name of the person they chose on a slip of paper. And the lay brothers also assembled, and chose among the priests four who should vote for them. On All-Saints Day we met, thirty-four in number, and found that thirty-one or two voted for Father Master Nadal, and our Father confirmed the

choice. And the Father Nadal entered excellently well on his functions, and lightened much the burden which our Father had to bear.

Nadal rejected all honours or title when he became the Father's substitute, and in a few months Ignatius was so far recovered that he could dispense with Nadal's services at home, and sent him back to Spain. It was said that another motive was Ignatius' displeasure at Nadal's proposing alterations in the rules for the colleges; he thought enough time was not given for prayer, and wished an additional hour daily allotted for that purpose. This was so far from unreasonable, that Aquaviva afterwards made the innovation; but to Ignatius novelties were intolerable, and he thought, moreover, that tenderness to the weak was not Nadal's characteristic. In March following he named Father Pezzano to be procurator of the professed house in Rome, where, for all temporal matters, he supplied the place of the general.

1555.

It was one of the favours granted to Ignatius towards the close of his life, that he saw and knew intimately that successor of the enemy of the Society at Toledo, who was to do them as much good as the last archbishop had done harm. The Cardinal-archbishop Gaspar di Quiroga came to Rome. 'I was united in the closest friendship with Father Ignatius,' said he afterwards; 'I have ever found him most truly humble, gentle and patient, full of charity and of zeal for the glory of God and the good of men's souls, and under all circumstances, pleasant or grievous, fortunate or adverse, I have always seen the same cheerful and pious gravity of demeanour, so that the habitual peace and calmness of his mind was manifest on his features.'

Quiroga, in speaking of his appearance, said that his countenance seemed radiant with a divine beauty, as one inspired, so that he never was satisfied with gazing on him.

His people describe him at this time as emaciated in body, but his face retaining the remarkable expression and brightness of earlier life; his body not bent, nor walking with more difficulty than formerly, though his weakness obliged him frequently to transact business while lying on his bed; his head very bald, his hair and beard still black, but slightly streaked with grey; his aspect benign and dignified.¹

¹ Grato et pleno dignitatis aspectu.

In spite of his great debility, he wished not to be spared in any way not absolutely indispensable. Once a Father, seeing him much fatigued by a visit to the Pope, would not speak to him on some affairs of the Society till next day. Ignatius was displeased, and reproved him so sternly, that the poor priest did not venture into his presence for a week.

During these last months Alessandro Petronio, his friend and skilful physician, was very ill. Ignatius went to his house. He slept. Ignatius went softly to his bedside, stayed but a minute, and then left the room without speaking. As he shut the door, Petronio woke up, and calling to his wife Felicita, asked her, 'What was that bright light which had filled the room?' When she told him there was no light, only the presence of Ignatius, he was greatly rejoiced; he soon recovered.

This, the last supernatural incident related in the life of Ignatius, reminds us to recall what has been said before, that his children never then claimed for him a power of working prodigies; and he would certainly have greatly resented such an attribute. All the remarkable circumstances of this kind that it has been thought right to detail may be set aside, if the reader so pleases; the true and only miracle that it is necessary to show and to appreciate is that of a most noble, extraordinary and original character, and an admirable work. It would have been as well to omit these incidents, perhaps better, but for one reason,—that they help to form a picture of the times, which would be very incomplete without them, and to realise that 'communion of Saints,' that familiar and frequent mingling, so to speak, of the material and spiritual world, which makes the incomparable happiness of those who are in the Catholic Church. But it is an entirely sober and reasoning happiness, and such manifestations as have been here described form no necessary part of her faith. We have the authority of a distinguished Jesuit of our day for this assurance. 'The Church seems to act fearlessly on the principle that these things are to be mistrusted until they are proved to be from God; they are disregarded, discouraged, made light of, hindered, forbidden, without scruple; and then, when they prove themselves, by their effects, to be

COLERIDGE.

genuine and divine, they are not, after all, to be made much of.' And this was the rule of Ignatius himself.

About a year before he died Ignatius called one day a brother named Giovanni Filippo Vite, companion to Polanco, and said, 'Write, that I wish to leave in writing for the Society my ideas on obedience;' and he dictated these sentences:—

1. On my first entrance into religion, and at all times after, I ought to resign myself into the hands of the Lord my God and of him who governs me.

2. I ought to desire to be ruled by a Superior who endeavours to subjugate my judgment and subdue my understanding.

3. In all things *except sin* I ought to do the will of my Superior, and not my own.

4. There are three sorts of obedience: the first, when a strict obligation is imposed upon me—and this is good; the second, when the simple command of the Superior, without any addition, suffices for me—and this is better; the third, when I do a thing without waiting for an express command, because I know that it will please him—and this is best of all.

5. I ought not to regard him who gives the order, whether he be the Superior, or the deputy, or a subordinate, but God alone, in whose place he stands, otherwise the merit of obedience is diminished.

6. When it seems to me that I am commanded by my Superior to do a thing which my conscience revolts against as sinful, and my Superior judges otherwise, it is my duty to yield my doubts to him, unless I am otherwise constrained by evident reasons. If submission does not appease my conscience, I must impart my doubts to two or three persons of discretion, and abide by their decision. If this does not content me, I am very far from having attained the perfection required by a religious life.

7. In a word, I ought not to be my own, but His who created me, and his too by whose means He governs me, yielding myself to be moulded in his hands like so much wax; and whether in writing and receiving letters, conversing with one or another, and other like things, placing all my devotion in doing whatever is required of me.

8. I ought to be like a corpse, which has neither will nor understanding; or like a little crucifix, which is turned about at the will of him who holds it; or like a staff in the hands of an old man, who uses it as may best assist or please him. So ought I to be under my religious rule, doing whatever service is judged best.

9. I must not petition the Superior to send me to any place or appoint me to any office. I am permitted to acquaint him with my intentions or desires, but with entire abandonment of myself to him, and a disposition to approve whatever he determines.

10. Nevertheless, in unimportant matters, such as going to the stations, or prayers for any particular grace, and such like, it is well not to ask permission, if only I am ready to consider it best whether I am permitted or refused.

11. So, with regard to poverty, I must depend on my Superior, and possess nothing which I esteem as my own. I should be like a statue, which makes no resistance to him that takes aught away from it, whatever the occasion may be.

These rules, which have been so often quoted and reviled, describe only what is required in all religious associations. The sixth is a full answer to the assertion that the Jesuits bind themselves to commit any crime at the bidding of their Superior. It is a parallel to the third rule, 'He must obey in everything *except sin*.' The rules of obedience are not more strict here than those of other religious orders; the figures used, of an old man's stick, a corpse, a statue, are all applied by saints who founded other communities; Ignatius only borrowed them. But this precept is peculiar to his rule—'*Preserve your independence of mind, and do not relinquish it by the authority of any person, or under any circumstances whatever*,' which we have quoted already from the instructions given at the beginning of the 'Exercises.'

Ignatius was still solicitous about the establishment of his order in Belgium. The illustrious Louis de Blois had paid a signal compliment to the Jesuits by asking them to assist him in reforming his abbey of Liessies. Father Goisson, 1553.
Vismar
Goisson.

afterwards rector of the Seminary at Rome, was sent to give the 'Exercises' there. Louis de Blois, whose character, birth, and interest with Charles V. gave him great weight; King Ferdinand, Cardinal Pole, Dominic Soto, united their efforts to those of the Jesuits themselves to obtain for them a legal settlement in Flanders. The Regent, still guided by Zwiche and the hostile interests, referred their application to the University of Louvain. Louis wrote a long and very laudatory letter to Zwiche, concerning the Society. 'Would to heaven,' said he, 'that these Fathers might found colleges in Belgium, as they have done in other parts of the Christian world! . . . but I fear we are yet unworthy of this blessing from the Lord.'

The abdication of Charles V. had now removed all authority from the Queen Regent, and Philip was known to incline to the order of Ignatius; but Zwiche still held a high place in the Royal council. Ignatius resolved to send Ribadeneira into Belgium. He was now twenty-seven years of age; he had not taken the vows of the professed, but he was an extraordinary preacher; and Ignatius hoped the reputation of his great talents would excite a wish to hear him in the Court of Brussels; and this happened as he had expected.

Oct. 22,
1555.

Pedro and a companion started in October, 1555. He writes to Ignatius six weeks later:—

My very reverend Father in Jesus Christ,—May the infinite grace and everlasting love of Jesus Christ for ever be our aid. Amen.

Last Saturday, the 7th of this month, we arrived at Louvain, by our Lord's goodness, brother Geraldo and I, in good health, though somewhat tired by the journey, during which, our Lord ever good and merciful to us, because we were fulfilling your paternal orders, treated us like spoiled children; for we had fine weather, good roads, and companions when we wanted them. We escaped many dangers and some unpleasant encounters. God be for ever praised and blessed, to whom we owe these mercies.

At Louvain we had much consolation in the society of our brethren, especially of Father Bernard Olivier, who expected us impatiently. The Sunday after he preached in French extremely well before a large audience in the church of St. Michel. I was much pleased with his sermon. The same day I went to hear a Latin discourse by an important personage, but all I brought away with me was an idea that it would need much patience to go a second

time ; yet there is so much devotion in this place, so many sermons and preachers, that it is surprising, and makes one thank God. Last Sunday, Feast of the Immaculate Conception, at least five or six hundred persons approached the holy table, in the principal church alone, and there were more than thirty sermons in Flemish, French, or Latin. So I am told it will surprise people less to hear me preach in Latin than in the days of Strada, for then no one preached in that language. . . . Yesterday we consulted with M. Bernard and M. Adrian on the orders you had given me, and we agreed that M. Adrian should speak to the rector of the University, who is full of goodwill to the company, and some other friends, so that I may be invited to preach next Sunday. . . . I am told the Spaniards who are studying at the University want me to preach in our own language. If I am asked, I will not refuse ; for I should like to practise speaking in Castilian, and I may thus attract the attention of the Spaniards at Brussels.

At Louvain, Father Master Bernard tells me that the Señor Pedro de Zarate thinks we had better do nothing till the Emperor is gone, and Father Araoz, or some other Spanish Father, arrived here ; . . . but we agreed, Master Bernard, Master Adrian, and I, that I should return with Master Bernard to Brussels, to lay the matter before the lords Pedro de Zarate and Alexis Fontana, . . . and then return to Louvain. So yesterday evening we repaired to Brussels. We went directly to the lord Alexis Fontana, and asked three things : if the Emperor was returning to Spain ? if the King of England was going to that country ? and how we could obtain leave to preach in some church, as your paternity desires, seeing that this city is in the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cambray ? . . . He answered, that he thought the Emperor would go, that he had even said he expected to keep Christmas in Spain, but no one could tell the exact time ; . . . the Queen of England had countermanded the fleet that she had made ready to escort the Emperor.

He told us, secondly, that it was believed the King would go to England, but not to stay long, because, having to govern Flanders, he could not absent himself so soon.

The question of the preaching was postponed till next day, when he and Bernard were to meet the Señor Zarate at Fontana's house.

Then the letter gives the result of this second meeting. Zarate and Fontana think no advance can be made while the Emperor remains, as Philip, though nominally sovereign in Flanders, can do nothing without his assent ; and as to the

permission to preach, they dread the Bishop of Cambray, and still more the Emperor's sister, Maria, on whose mind the old arguments of Viglius Zwichem had left a strong impression.

It is thought certain that in a few days (the Emperor) will give Spain and Sicily to his son Philip, as he has already given him Flanders; and then the King, being master of everything, will do as he thinks proper. . . . We have determined, therefore, to return to Louvain, Master Bernard and I, and, when the time is come, these lords will give us warning.

There seems to be much agitation in the Court, and discussion of grave matters; so that we had better follow the instructions you gave me, to be guided by our friends who know the Court.

We recommend ourselves to the prayers of the Fathers Laynez, Polanco, Madrid, and all the rest.

The unworthy son in our Lord of your paternity,

PEDRO DE RIBADENEIRA.

From Brussels, December 11, 1555.

Ignatius depended much on the effect which Ribadeneira's eloquence and his elegant Latinity would produce at Louvain and at Brussels. Bernard Olivier related to him how his wishes were completely satisfied:—

From the first a larger audience collected round his pulpit than any Latin sermon had ever attracted before; the second and third time it was larger still. The old preachers themselves were among the most eager to hear him; a famous doctor, named Amerot, who also preaches in Latin with great success, always comes with his pupils. He made a formal visit to our preacher along with his *cortége*.

A worthy Spanish monk of the order of St. Dominic, lately giving a sermon, an hour before Father Ribadeneira commenced his, in another church, as he ended, made a eulogy on the Latin orations of his colleague, and invited all his auditors to accompany him to hear him, which they did.

The same monk, and several of different orders, and several Spanish lords, have visited him here. A theologian has asked us two or three times, on behalf of the Faculty, for a copy of his sermons. Some wish they should be printed; some earnestly beg me to explain to them in writing the art with which he composes and recites his discourses; many observe him with the utmost attention, in order to imitate him.

Another letter says :—

His reputation is greater than I can describe. . . . The regent of the Falcon invited the Father to his table, where were the principal masters of the college, all eager to exchange a few words with him, so that if one wanted to speak to him separately the others complained. . . . In short, they give him such marks of honour, goodwill, and friendship, that Father Ribadeneira and his companion Master Adrian were astonished. The same regent offered to receive *gratis* as many young men as we wished to send to the schools of Louvain, adding he did not consider this doing us a favour, but rather asking one. He insisted on giving Master Ribadeneira the key of his college, and of his own apartments, so that he might visit him as often as he pleased. After supper almost all the masters accompanied him home, carrying torches in their hands. . . . To-day a bachelor in theology told me that all the University was talking of these discourses; all, down to the youngest scholar, spoke of them with enthusiasm; the learned praised him, *etiam usque ad miraculum*. PRAT.

But precious, far beyond praises, were the results that followed in the lives of many of his hearers. The Chancellor Ruard more than once thanked him for the spirit of piety thus kindled and the reforms accomplished. And, as Ignatius hoped, the report of his wonderful eloquence reached Brussels, and the Imperial secretary was desired to invite him, through Zarate, to preach before the Court.

Bernard Olivier comforted the last months of Ignatius' life by this account of Pedro's continued success :—

He preached (at Brussels) on the Epiphany, in one of the churches which the Spaniards commonly attend. The great lords of the Court, all the King's council, and many more were there, and, if we may believe Zarate, even the Bishop of Trieste, the most famous of the Court preachers, never had so large and brilliant an audience. All were pleased with the substance and style of the sermon, and the utterance, action, and dignity of the preacher. The King's confessor could not praise the doctrine enough. Zarate and Fontana stayed after the service to speak of the sermon, and told us everybody had been charmed with it and greatly edified. Now, Señor Zarate had before been mortally alarmed lest Father Ribadeneira should not answer the general expectation; he had told us anxiously and several times over that he must prepare himself well, for he would be heard by fastidious ears. He afterwards told me the discourse was every way excellent; so also said these lords when we went to wait

on them as you desired. The Father has received numberless marks of esteem and friendship from them. . . .

Of your reverend paternity the useless servant,

BERNARD.

Louvain, January 11, 1556.

The Count of Figueroa and Cordova, afterwards Duke of Feria, the most powerful nobleman at Court, offered Pedro a lodging in his house, treated him as a son, and assisted his efforts to procure an establishment of the order as a personal affair.

Don Lopez d'Alvarado wrote, some months later:—‘As for the goodness, piety, zeal, and good example of Father Master Ribadeneira, it is better to say nothing than say too little upon such an extraordinary subject. The King loves him much, and Ruy Gomez, and others of the council; but the Count de Feria, and Don Alonzo d'Aguilar his brother, cannot exist an hour out of his sight.’¹ This letter was sent from Pisa on November 10, 1556.

Ruy Gomez, cameraro mayor and confidential friend of King Philip, was the husband of the Princess of Eboli, well remembered by the readers of Schiller.

Figueroa was brother to Antonio de Cordova, who had already entered the Society; his mother, Marchioness del Priego, protected it in Spain. He procured for Pedro an audience of the King. Pedro delivered a letter from Ignatius; the King received it graciously, and promised an answer.

But Zwichem was still influential, and he dreaded an order expressly devoted to the Pope, for the war between Philip and Paul IV. still seemed unappeasable. Ribadeneira, doubtless counselled by Figueroa, sent a memorial declaring that the Society of Jesus was wholly unconnected with politics.

The King fell ill; Pedro returned to Louvain and resumed his Latin orations; Bernard Olivier went to Tournay, where Quintin Ciarlat and Bouclet were greatly esteemed. The plague broke out in Tournay; the Jesuits, after their custom, attended the sick, gave the sacraments to the dying, and Quintin soon caught the disease and died. Bernard replaced him; he also caught the plague and died. The Fathers of the Chartreux took the utmost care of him during his illness;

1556.

¹ ‘L’ hora che non lo veggono non stanno in se.’

they were in all times and places the faithful friends of the Society.

Ribadeneira, after the departure of Bernard for Tournay, writes to Ignatius, 'that remembering all Father Bernard had done, he had preached twice again at Louvain, before a larger audience than ever, and including the principal persons in the University.' He says some have told him that the last sermon particularly has done great good, and that many of the hearers have resolved to confess and communicate every week. 'I have been asked to teach the theologians how to preach, and to print my sermons.' But as he is obliged to remain chiefly at Brussels, to push on this affair of the colleges, he fears the impression will not last long. 'At Louvain there are some very learned Spaniards, who have taken such an affection for the company that they wish to enter it; . . . one particularly, Master Ledesma, has surprising merit. . . . Meanwhile he entreats me to recommend him to your prayers, for he has so great an esteem for your paternity, that he never ceases thanking God for having sent such a man into the world.'

June 21,
1556.

Ledesma was a remarkable person ; he was accounted one of the glories of the University of Louvain ; he had seen the lives of many Jesuits, their zeal, humility and charity—the holiness of their conversation. When Pedro arrived he sought him immediately, and asked endless questions concerning Ignatius. They were answered in the spirit of loving admiration which overflowed in the heart of Ribadeneira towards his Father ; but when Ledesma saw the Constitutions, he was impressed with deep reverence for the sagacity, genius, and piety he saw in them, and gave thanks to God. He was withheld for some time from entering the Society by the fear of being controlled in the labours of his pen, for he meditated a great work on science and theology. Pedro showed him that in the order of Jesus all talents were cherished and employed, and Ledesma entered the novitiate at Rome a few months later.

Diego de
Ledesma.

Even then he was not quite satisfied that he should be able to persevere ; he had doubts about the vow of celibacy ; he thought obedience too difficult ; and till he thoroughly learned its application in the rule of Ignatius, he frequently

relapsed into hesitation. But when once entered, he became as eminent for piety as he was for learning. The Fathers called him 'Il maestro de' maestri,' and Laynez thought him superior to all the other professors in the Roman college; yet he was remarkable for his attachment to the small devotions, commonly esteemed chiefly as aids to the ignorant—little prayers, ejaculations, pictures, and the like. He would look on nothing as insignificant that concerned the worship of the Creator; and in composing he wrote at the top of every page the names of Jesus and Mary. His admiration was great of Ignatius and of the order. 'I revere in it,' he said, 'not a few miracles, but many; not particular, but general; not of some, but of all; not occasional, but continued.' For he thought miraculous the charity that united all as in one family; the blameless and pure lives of so many men, some very young; the devotion that seemed inspired by the mere entering into the house, so that even the novices are sent on pilgrimages; the eminent humility of many among them who were noble, learned, highly honoured in the world; their gifts of moving hearts, even by the countenance, and not with the voice only; the wonderful conversions that followed the use of the 'Spiritual Exercises' and those composed by Ignatius when he was yet a new and unlearned man; the fervour and copiousness of the young ones in their domestic sermons, often extempore.

When Ledesma was placed over the Roman college, he said he cared little for any scholars who were lukewarm in religion, whatever their attainments might be; and no books, even purely scientific, pleased him, if wanting wholly in the heaven of piety. He took pains to discourage all particular friendships among the students, thinking these impeded the flow of a general charity and goodwill; he condescended to the youngest scholars, and composed for them books suited to children; he cared also for the young men sent to the college as professors, and so directed them, that each was under the guidance of some older and experienced Father, and their instructions so timed as to leave them at leisure for the fulfilment of all the obligations of their rule. And so great was the veneration all felt for him, that he rarely had need to exercise his authority. He acted out the principles of

Ignatius with supreme success until his death, during the jubilee of Gregory XIII., in 1575.

Ribadeneira at Brussels was constantly employed in exhorting and conversing with the nobles of Philip's court, explaining the Institutes of the Society and their ways of life. For then, as ever since, misrepresentations were at work. Many did not know, and some refused to know, what the Jesuits were, what they aimed at, what they did. It was often a pleasant thing to make these explanations in the Spanish court, for they were a religious nation, willing to be moved and convinced. Among the Flemings there was more disposition to the new doctrines. Zwichem, the most important of all Pedro's opponents, had no leaning to these, but dreaded in the Jesuits a political engine, which the Pope might hereafter make use of against King Philip, and a source of jealous discontent among the clergy at home.

But when Ribadeneira could persuade any to examine and understand the Institute of Ignatius, they were sure to pass from inquiry to admiration.

Those who saw clearly the lives of the Jesuits; their simple and self-denying habits, their energy in doing good, their cheerful patience in bearing wrong; the clear and prompt intelligence, the decision and perseverance with which they worked out their aims, the highest that can be proposed for any human aspiration, 'CE SENTIMENT EXQUIS POUR TOUT CE QU'ILS APPELLENT HONNEUR,'¹ needed no vindication of their motives.

But there was still some political doubt, and both Ignatius and Ribadeneira took pains to explain how the Jesuits are everywhere obliged to keep aloof from party contests, decline all secular interference, and transfer their interests to the country they are placed in, as true patriots; and this part of their rule was of frequent application, for many princes and magistrates desired to profit by their sagacity and influence. They were enjoined always to adopt as true sons the State which gave them shelter; and in the last year of Ignatius' life, when another siege of Rome was ex-

¹ Montesquieu.

pected, the Jesuits, Fathers and novices, assisted with their hands in fortifying the city against King Philip. Salmeron was one of the first to carry his pickaxe and mattock to the walls.

When Ribadeneira was sent to Belgium, Ignatius bade him avoid complaining of the Pope, Paul IV., and speak only of the good dispositions he had shown on some occasions. Ribadeneira answered, 'He did not see how he could put a favourable interpretation on some of his actions.' 'Then,' said Ignatius, 'you must say nothing at all, and speak only of Pope Marcellus, who showed us so much affection.'

April 3.

In the spring of 1556 Ignatius wrote to Ribadeneira, then at the Court of Philip at Brussels :—

From Cologne we are asked with much importunity to send persons who will aid the common good of that city, in preaching and explaining the Holy Scriptures, and in other literature. For although it remains firm in the Catholic religion, it contains many who sow evil doctrines, and few good ; for they write to us, there is none who teaches anything of theology. And though I think of sending a good many persons to make a beginning of the college which they desire to have, in the meanwhile I wish that, having seen this, within three or four days you should go to Cologne, unless his Majesty or the Conde Ruy Gomez order otherwise, and that there you will employ yourself in preaching in Latin, or reading something from the sacred Scriptures, as seems most advisable for the edification of the town.

June 9.

The project of Zarate for Jerusalem still occupied him. A letter from Ignatius shows that King Philip charged some commissioners to examine the proposal, and Ignatius believed he was inclined to favour it. But the affair dragged on. When Philip went to Flanders, the indefatigable Zarate followed him. Ignatius was then very ill. Only a few weeks before his death he wrote to Zarate that some monks (Franciscans) had asked him to renounce formally the right given him by Pope Julius III. to found a college at Jerusalem. But a person had left by will a rent of 500 ducats yearly for the college in Jerusalem, and he did not think this renunciation could be reasonably asked. 'Besides,' continues Ignatius, 'as one does not know what God our Lord

may work by the unworthy means of this small company, it appears not consistent either with reason or the will of God if we allow the door to be shut against a college in the Holy Land. And if I were to make the renunciation desired, this would not, as it appears to me, bind the company hereafter. But I think I could not do it with a safe conscience, though I see small prospect now that a college will be founded there during my life. And it may easier happen that such an one should never exist than that I should bind myself by a promise not to allow it.'

The last words were prophetic. His successors made no use of the Papal grant. And a few days after he wrote them, he exchanged his longing for that earthly Jerusalem which his soul ever yearned after for the full enjoyment of the City of the Lamb.

Ruy Gomez continued to befriend the Society, and after Ignatius' death he wrote to Ribadeneira from Greenwich (whither he had come on a mission from Philip, the ungracious bridegroom, who constantly made excuses for deferring his return to England), 'that he was always watching an opportunity, but could not yet persuade the Queen or Cardinal Pole that the wisest thing they could do would be to summon the new order to the help of religion in England and Ireland.' 'I shall pursue this business,' says Ruy Gomez, 'as long as I have any hopes of the Cardinal. He is a worthy man, *but too moderate, and I do not believe that moderation, though it is said to resemble temperance, will carry us to Paradise.* Pedro de Zarate will tell you the same thing.' He recommends Ribadeneira still to wait at Brussels, 'and if you cannot endure this, buy two pounds weight of patience in the shop of Pedro de Zarate.'¹

March 22,
1558.

PRAT.

Zarate indeed must have needed all he had, for the long efforts with which he pursued his favourite object ended in nothing but the good, let us hope, done to his own soul.

¹ Ribadeneira at last visited England, when the Duke de Feria was sent by Philip to the Queen, then dangerously ill. She died a few days after their arrival. The opinions of Elizabeth were not yet declared, and Ribadeneira preached and taught without impediment, except from his own health, during the winter. He returned to Brussels in March.

Nov. 17,
1558.

1559.

As the summer of 1556 advanced the maladies of Ignatius became so much worse that those about him saw he had not long to live. He himself knew it, and wrote to Doña Eleanor Mascarenhas, who had asked him to pray for her foster-son Philip II., that he had always remembered Philip daily in his prayers, but twice a day since he became King, adding, 'This is the last letter I shall write to you; I shall soon pray the Lord for you in heaven.'

He said once to the priests near him:—'Three things I have especially desired, and, thanks be to God, I have seen them all granted to me: that the Society should be established by the Pope's confirmation; that the book of "Spiritual Exercises" should receive the approbation of the Holy See; and that the Constitutions should be completed and observed by the order everywhere.' Those who listened understood what this meant. He would not allow Father Vink, who had been very zealous in the settling of colleges in Sicily, to come to Rome to be received among the professed, though it was unusual for those vows to be made anywhere but at the Gesù. Ignatius charged the provincial Domenech to receive the vows from Vink, in order, he said, that he might not be long absent from Catania. But others had come from greater distances, and it was believed that Ignatius knew there would not be time for the journey before his own death.

Some time after this he transferred the functions of his office to Polanco; Christopher Madrid, who, though not professed, nor hardly more than a novice, yet had great weight in the Society; and Nadal, recently recalled. He himself retired to the country house he had bought near the convent of Sta. Balbina. It was newly repaired, and the walls not yet dry. The heats of summer were excessive that year; Ignatius became worse, and after two or three days' fever he caused himself to be carried back to Rome. He wished doubtless to be again near his brethren and his beloved scholars; it would not signify much to him that Rome was full of distress and terror, the people anticipating that their city would be again taken and sacked. But Philip, while he made war on the Pope, professed a humble reverence for him, and waited till Paul saw that his situation was desperate, and proposed terms of peace.

Polanco describes the last moments of Ignatius in a circular letter, addressed to the provincials, dated August 6, 1556 :—

The peace of Christ. I announce hereby to your reverence, and to all the brethren who are under you, that it has pleased God to call to Himself our blessed Father Master Ignatius, early on Friday, the last day of July. On the eve of St. Peter's chains, those chains were broken which bound him in the flesh, and he was set in the liberty of the elect.

God has heard at last the longings of His holy servant. For though he bore his pilgrimage and the trials it brought upon him with great patience and fortitude, yet he desired for many years past to see and praise his Creator and Lord in the heavenly country, whose Divine providence has left him to us hitherto, that his work in this small Society, which had begun through him, might better progress by his example, wisdom, prudence, and prayers.

Since your reverence will wish to hear something more of the death of our Father, now in glory, you shall know that it was very easy, and it was almost an hour before we perceived that he had ceased to live. We had many sick in the house, and among them Father Master Laynez and Juan de Mendoza, and some more, who were dangerously ill. Our Father also had a trifling illness, and suffered four or five days from a fever, but very slightly; it was even doubtful if there were still any fever or not, though he was then, as at former times, extremely weak. In this condition he sent for me on Wednesday, and desired me to tell Dr. Torres to attend him as he did the other patients; for as we had not thought his indisposition considerable, the others were taken more care of than himself. Torres therefore watched him, as well as another famous physician, who is a friend of ours; Master Alessandro visited him every day. The next day (Thursday) he asked for me about two o'clock [*this answers to four in the afternoon*], and when he had sent the attendant out of the room he said it was time now that I should go to the Vatican, to inform his Holiness that he was near his end, and had no longer any hope of temporal life; that he asked the blessing of his Holiness for himself and Master Laynez, who was also in danger, and that if God our Lord granted them the mercy of being taken into heaven, they would there pray for his Holiness, as they had done daily on earth.

The mention of Laynez is a mistake of Polanco's. Father Ignatius said only 'Colui,' and Polanco supposed he meant Laynez, who was apparently in extremity, but two days after-

wards recovered. Ignatius spoke it was afterwards thought of Father Olave, who was not ill then, but died soon after.

I answered him, ' Father, the physicians see no danger in this illness, and I myself hope that God will preserve your reverence yet some years for His service. Do you find yourself as ill as the other ? ' He answered me, ' So ill that nothing remains for me but to give up my soul.' Then I expressed the hope I really had that he would live longer, but also I said I would do what he desired, and asked him if it might wait till Friday, because I wanted to send letters that evening to Spain, by Genoa, and the post went on Thursday. He answered, ' I had rather it were done to-day, or the sooner the better ; but do what you think best ; I leave it entirely to you.' In order to learn from the judgment of the physicians if he was in danger, I that evening begged the principal of them, Master Alessandro, to tell me candidly if our Father were in danger, because he had charged me to announce this to the Pope. He answered me, ' To-day I can say nothing about his danger ; that must be to-morrow.'

Under these circumstances, and as the Father had left it to me, I thought it best in human prudence to wait till the Friday, and then obtain the opinion of the physician. On that same Thursday, at one in the evening [*eight of our time*], Doctor Madrid and I were at the supper of our Father, who ate as well as he usually did, and conversed with us, so that I went to my room without thinking of any danger from this illness. In the morning, at sunrise, we found our Father was dying, and immediately I went to the Vatican. The Pope showed sincere sympathy, and gave him the fullest benediction that he could.

And so he gave up his soul most peacefully to its Creator, in the presence of Father Doctor Madrid and of Master Andreas Frusius, before the second hour after sunrise.

When our Father was dead, we proceeded to embalm him as well as we could, . . . and this caused greater wonder and edification ; for his stomach and abdomen were empty and shrivelled up, whence the physicians judged his abstinence to have been great in former times, and his fortitude, since in so much weakness he went about his laborious duties with such constant serenity. When they examined the liver, they found three small stones, which testified how true was what the good old man Diego d'Eguia said, that certainly our Father for long time past was kept in life by a miracle. I, at least, cannot guess how, with a liver so diseased, he could have lived in a natural way, if God our Lord had not provided for this organic disease, and kept him in life while he was necessary to our Society.

We deferred the interment of his holy remains till Saturday after vespers. The concourse of the pious, and their devotion, was very great, though he remained in the room where he had died; some kissed his hands, some his feet, or touched his body with their chaplets, along with our own Fathers. We did all we could to keep off those who wanted to carry off a piece of his cap or clothes. Some painters made likenesses of him, which he had never permitted during his lifetime, though many had asked leave. In the large chapel, on the Gospel side in our own Church, we made a little grave, in which his body, placed in a sarcophagus, after we had said the office as customary, was deposited, and a great stone placed on it, which can be removed whenever it is necessary. There he will remain, in some measure as waiting till another destination shall seem proper for him.

The Doctor Olave went to the Pope to announce the decease, and his Holiness showed him much favour, expressing his liking for the Society, which he had entertained through all its stages of progress. Some of the most influential cardinals did the same, as well as many other friends who offered themselves liberally to the Society. Praised be God our Lord, for He is our strength and hope. We have all offered the sacrifice three days for our Father, though some of us were impelled by a pious wish to ask his prayers, rather than pray for him to God our Lord. Nevertheless, all that reason counsels should be done everywhere, both with regard to the three days' masses, and to the prayers of our brethren who are not priests. He has left thirteen provinces.

Rome, August 6, 1556.

Tommaso Cannicari, the infirmarian who attended on Ignatius, told Lancizio that when the Fathers saw he was dying, they sent for Pietro Riera, who had latterly been the Saint's confessor, to anoint him. But Riera could not be found, and Ignatius never received the last unction. Besides Madrid and Frusis, it seems that Cardinal Tarugi, who was in the house at the time, witnessed his last moments; they put a blessed candle into his hand; he said softly, 'Jesus, Jesus!' and died about an hour after sunrise, in great tranquillity. Fra Tommaso said that until midnight he talked much to himself, as he had done during all his illness; then he became more quiet, and did not call to him so often; he only sometimes whispered, 'Ay Dios!'

The Fathers wept for him with a tender reverence, and a regret for the delightful intercourse which was ever full of

charity and edification; but they fully believed that his race was run, his mission accomplished, and that he was henceforward to guide and intercede for his company in Heaven.

Five of the first associates of Ignatius survived him; of Paschase Brouet and Rodriguez we have spoken already; Salmeron and Bobadilla were absent from Rome when he died; Laynez, at the Gesù, was himself very ill, and did not see Ignatius during those last days. He was chosen by the unanimous voice of the Society to take the place of vice-governor until another general could be named; and this, from the troubled state of Rome, was deferred for two years. Laynez then became the second general. Profoundly learned, marvellous for his memory and his eloquence, 'quieto di natura, ardente di zelo,' and long living in the closest intimacy with Ignatius, he was his worthy successor, and carried on the Order of Jesus in the full aim and spirit of its founder. He was again papal theologian at the Council of Trent, and spread his brilliant reputation for argument and oratory in France at the conference of Passy, where Theodore Beza disputed with him in the presence of Catherine de' Medici and all the French court; and if he convinced few who were not of his own opinion already, it was much that he made no new enemies, and parted courteously from Beza and the Protestants who accompanied him.

Paul IV., renewing the attempt to make Laynez cardinal, and desirous to attach him closely to his own person, ordered him to take up his residence in the Vatican. Laynez obeyed for one night, and then returned to the Gesù; and Paul then desisted from imposing upon him these unwelcome honours. Laynez died in 1565, during the papacy of Pius IV. Salmeron continued to reside at Naples, eminently successful, esteemed, and persecuted; and it is odd to see how the type of persecution is carried on in Jesuit history from the beginning. Salmeron was accused of causing an old lady to leave the company a large fortune; then a song was sung about the streets—

Che il Padre Salmerone
È davvero un gran briccone.

And it came out after a time that the whole story and its details were alike an invention of the enemy. Then he

became one of the Illuminati; then a disciple of Bernard Ochino, and a declared heretic. He lived down all these calumnies, but they must have sometimes harassed him. In old age he was summoned to Rome to preach in Advent before Pope Gregory XIII.; and this was his last absence from Naples, and his last appearance in the pulpit. He died soon after, uttering the words '*Laetatur anima mea,*' thankful doubtless to escape from the opposition which he knew must follow the Society through all time. Bobadilla, the youngest of the ten, and surviving the others, lived on in Sicily and Naples, useful and judicious in directing the establishments there; but he fell away strangely from the spirit and rules of the order, and murmured because Laynez did not appoint him to higher places in the Society. Probably Laynez had reason to dread the '*spirito infocato,*' the fiery temper which had done so much excellent work in subordinate positions; and the result justified him. Bobadilla died at Loretto in 1580.

We are unwilling to close these few words respecting the earliest companions of Ignatius without some mention of Ribadeneira, long the torment and the favourite of the community, then one of its most brilliant and useful members, treated by Ignatius with an indulgence that makes one think the master was thankful for a pupil towards whom he could relax something of his habitual self-repression without reproach. When Pedro came to Rome, two years after his beloved patron's death, having entirely failed in the attempt to obtain an introduction for the Jesuits into England, he was sent to Palermo, received there with the love and reverence he had deserved in former times, and witnessed the murder of the Jesuit Father, Venusti, whose assassin took refuge in the College of the Jesuits, and was helped by them to fly into some foreign country, where it was said he ended his days in true repentance. In 1565, the death of Laynez summoned all the provincials and assistants to Rome. His successor, Borgia, made Ribadeneira rector of the Roman College. When he entered on his office, he made, in the presence of all the inmates assembled in the refectory, a humble acknowledgment of his own unfaithfulness to the graces bestowed upon him. He kissed the feet of all; and

then kneeling down before the crucifix and throwing back his mantle, he beat himself during many minutes. After this extremely uncomfortable inauguration, we can well understand that the energy and devotedness of the teachers were responded to by the docility of the scholars; and it was not unintelligible praise that Lord Bacon bestowed when he said some years later, 'AS FOR EDUCATION, LOOK AT THE JESUITS, THERE IS NO TRAINING BEYOND THAT.'

When Pedro's health obliged him to obey the order of Mercurian, and return to his native country, he had a mother longing to see him once more. The day when he landed at Barcelona she expired at Seville. He had still relations living, from whom he had not, like Francis Xavier, thought it necessary to estrange himself; Alonzo, a younger brother, and two sisters. Isabella, a nun at St. Clement's in Toledo, seems to have been an unhappy person. Her brother consoled her with pious affection. There were lawsuits and money difficulties in the family, and Pedro as the eldest son did what he could to remove them. But the unfailing destiny of persecution and trouble kept the Society in Spain now as elsewhere and always meeting malicious attacks, and warding them off with charity. Denys Vasquez, who had broken Pedro's leg when they were both children, and since entered the Society, endeavoured now to divide the Spanish colleges from Rome; Melchior Cano renewed his old hostility; the Inigistes were again called Alumbrados, concealed heretics and enemies of the King of Spain; even Cardinal Quiroga, who seemed personally as much attached to Ribadeneira as he had been to Ignatius, allowed three Jesuits to be imprisoned by the Inquisition. The determination to separate the company in Spain from the jurisdiction of the general in Rome, was almost declared by the court, the Inquisition, and a small and turbulent party among the Jesuits themselves. Sixtus V. was not a pope to tolerate dictation or encroachment; and Aquaviva showed him good reasons why he should insist on the cause of the Society being judged by the Vatican itself. The general bade his people submit themselves personally to the Inquisition, but not their institute or laws. The prisoners at last were liberated, and still the king was bent on reducing the Jesuits under his sole

authority. The Inquisition interfered with their writings and their missions in foreign countries, but Ribadeneira said no persecution they had ever suffered so much alarmed him as when Philip prevailed on Clement VIII. to make Francis Tolet a cardinal. He was every way worthy, but the precedent was only the more dangerous. Then came the courtly favour shown to Herman de Mendoza, who at last procured for himself the bishopric of Cuzquo, in Peru ; but there returning to the order from which he had shaken himself free, became again a fervent Jesuit, living in their house and conforming to their rules. Then the terrible book of Molina, on 'free will and grace,' which was the pretence or cause of such long and bitter controversy, not quelled by the congregations 'De Auxiliis,' held at Rome during five years and concluded without any conclusion by Paul V., who left both parties free to maintain their own opinions. Then the life of his dear Father, which Ribadeneira had written, was attacked by Litho¹ Misenus with true Calvinistic virulence ; and after this came repose and consolation. The latter part of Pedro's career was made delightful by the canonisation of St. Ignatius, which he saw nearly completed ; and he closed his literary labours by the 'Flos Sanctorum,' which was everywhere welcomed and applauded, and his 'Confessions,' not printed till after his death in 1611—the last survivor of those who were contemporaries of the Saint.

¹ Steuius or Stein.

If any reader, interested by the history of this singular work, desire to know something of its further development and its present state, they may be satisfied upon testimony the most acceptable, because beyond all suspicion of partiality, from writers of other and hostile sects, some of whom not only did not share, but could not even understand, the impulse by which the Jesuits acted, or the sources of the heroism they describe.

CONCLUSION.

LORD MACAULAY says :—‘ That Order possessed itself at once of all the strongholds which command the public mind, of the pulpit, the press, the confessional, the academies. Wherever the Jesuits preached the church was too small for the audience. The name of Jesuit on a title-page secured the circulation of a book. Literature and science, lately associated with infidelity or heresy, now became the allies of orthodoxy. Dominant in the south of Europe, the great Order now went forth conquering and to conquer, in spite of oceans and deserts, hunger and pestilence, spies and penal laws, dungeons and racks, gibbets and quartering blocks arguing, instructing, consoling, stealing away the hearts of the young, animating the courage of the timid, holding up the crucifix before the eyes of the dying the Old World was not wide enough for THIS STRANGE ACTIVITY!! They made converts in regions where neither avarice nor curiosity had tempted any of their countrymen to enter, and preached in tongues of which no other native of the West understood a word.’

Grotius, a Calvinist, admits their extraordinary merit; they were the first, he says, to bring to the Papal cause ‘ the advantage of their amazing succour, helping it on with what had been hitherto neglected, irreproachable morals and cultivated understandings. . . . Great is the influence of the Order with the public, both on account of its holiness and because without receiving pay they instruct youth in the principles of learning and wisdom. Their members have authority both in cities and in the country; they are wise rulers, faithful subjects they have learned to cast off the fear of death and bid farewell to all human affections.’

He speaks of the ‘ laudable management wherewith they

find in royal palaces the golden mean between servility and arrogance ; they neither fly from the vices of men nor sanction them.'

The Scotch historian Robertson says :—' But it is in the New World that the Jesuits have exhibited the most wonderful display of their abilities, and have contributed most effectually to the benefit of the human species The Jesuits alone made humanity the object of their settling there These Jesuits set themselves to instruct and to civilise the savages These people became the subjects of their benefactors, who have governed them with a tender attention, resembling that with which a father directs his children. Respected and *beloved almost to adoration*, a few Jesuits presided over some hundred thousand Indians.'

Montesquieu, who had no religion, speaking of Paraguay says :—' It is a glory to the Society that they have been the first to show in those countries religion and philanthropy acting together ; they have commenced the cure of one of the greatest wounds that the human race has yet sustained. Their *exquisite sense of what they consider honour*, their zeal for Christianity, has made them undertake great things, and they have succeeded.'

Sismondi says :—' The Jesuits had succeeded in collecting these wild people of South America into villages, who had before been always wandering in the forests ; had taught them religion and civilisation together, made them build houses and churches, cultivate the fields, accumulate wealth ; had solved in short the problems, which they alone understood, of helping men to pass from a savage state to a civilised one. And the longer our experience the greater becomes our admiration for these missionaries ; they employed only charity, patience, and a paternal care. Other people have endeavoured to raise the savages by instruction, emulation, commerce, and industry ; and over all the globe the contact of the English, Dutch, and French with savages has caused them to melt away like wax before the fire. In the American missions, on the contrary, the Red men increased rapidly under Jesuit direction. These Indians, it was said, were only grown children after all. But since the

Jesuits were expelled, the Portuguese, English, and French have made them tigers.'

Bancroft's 'History of the United States' does eminent justice to the virtues of the Northern missionaries:—

'The horrors of a Canadian life in the wilderness were resisted by an invincible passive courage and a deep internal tranquillity. Away from the amenities of life, from the opportunities of vain glory, they became dead to the world and possessed their souls in unalterable peace. The few who lived to grow old still kindled with the fervour of apostolic zeal. The history of their labours is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America, not a cape was turned nor a river entered but a Jesuit led the way.' And he describes very touchingly the horrible martyrdom of Brebeuf, Daniel, and the excellent Lallemont.

These are the words of Buffon in his '*Variétés de l'Espèce humaine*':—'Les missions ont formé plus d'hommes dans ces nations barbares que les armées victorieuses des princes qui les ont subjuguées. Le Paraguai n'a été conquis que de cette façon. La douceur, le bon exemple, la charité, et l'exercice de la vertu, constamment pratiqués par les missionnaires, ont touché ces sauvages, et vaincu leur défiance et leur férocité; ils sont venus souvent d'eux-mêmes demander à connaître la loi qui rendait les hommes si parfaits; ils se sont soumis à cette loi et réunis en société. Rien ne fait plus d'honneur à la religion que d'avoir civilisé ces nations et jeté les fondements d'un empire, sans autres armes que celles de la vertu.'

In Dr. Lardner's 'History of Portugal' it is related that, 'Joam III. employed the Jesuits as his missionaries through his vast colonial empire, and nobly did they justify his choice. With their lives in their hands, these men of God traversed regions unknown, plunged into deserts, exhibited an activity in their missions unexampled since the days of the primitive apostles; patient under suffering, meek under persecution, they submitted without a murmur to privation, bonds, and death.'

And while this work was going on in the New World, the

University of Paris said the College of the Jesuits in the Rue St.-Jacques was 'un repaire de tigres et une caverne de tyranneaux.' Passerat, one of the most eloquent of its professors, called the Jesuits 'Harpies,' 'Scythian vagabonds,' 'Ucalegons,' 'Poltroons,' 'Glowworms hiding themselves in the bushes.' Their retrenchments from the classic authors, for the sake of morality, were especially ridiculous and odious to Passerat; yet the University was obliged afterwards to adopt them. Its organs said, 'Les Jésuites menaçaient de dévaster l'Université et la réduire en solitude;' which seems to explain their animosity. And they actually succeeded in procuring the expulsion of the whole body from the diocese of Paris; nevertheless, Henry IV. recalled them, in spite of the remonstrances of the President Du Harlay and other magistrates. He even wrote to Du Harlay an energetic letter in their defence:—

'And I wonder,' said he, 'on what grounds you suppose ambition in persons who refuse dignities and bishoprics when they are offered to them, and swear before God never to desire them; and who aim at nothing in this world, but to serve without any reward all who are willing to accept their assistance. . . .

'The University has repulsed them because they have done better than others. . . .

'As for the wealth you say they had, it is a calumny and an imposture, . . . their patience is great; and I admire them for it; for, with patience and good life, they accomplish everything.'

'From all time past,' adds the King, 'ignorance has borne a grudge against science.'

And until the suppression of the order they continued to justify the protection of Henry. Nearly all who were worthy, pious, or honourable in the French nation, came from their schools. And he gave them his own house of La Flèche, for a college.

One of its illustrious pupils, Descartes, says, 'There is no place in the world where philosophy is better taught.' And then he mentions the advantages to young men of mixing with companions from all countries, and adds, what may serve to answer some ideas suggested by the enemies of the

Society, 'Enfin l'égalité que les Jésuites mettent entre eux, en ne traitant guère d'autre manière ceux qui sont les plus distingués que ceux qui le sont moins, est *une invention extrêmement bonne,*' as if it were a new idea.

Montaigne, when he was at Rome, visited the Jesuits' college.

'C'est merveille,' says he, 'combien de part ce Collège tient en la chrétienté, et crois qu'il ne fût jamais confrérie et corps parmi nous qui tint un tel rang, ny qui produisît en fin des effets tels que fairont ceus ici, si leurs desseins continuent. Ils possèdent tantost toute la chrétienté, *c'est une pépinière de grands hommes et en toute sorte de grandeur.*'

In 1746 Voltaire, who will hardly be suspected of excess on behalf of a religious order, wrote to Father de la Tour, Principal of the College of Louis le Grand in Paris. . . . 'Nothing will efface from my heart the remembrance of Père Porée, which is equally dear to all who were under him. Never did any man render study and virtue more loveable. His hours of instruction were delightful to us; I wished I could have attended them at a more advanced age, I should have returned to hear him frequently. During the seven years that I lived in the house of the Jesuits, what did I see there? A life the most laborious and frugal, their whole time divided between the pains they took with us and the exercises of their austere vocation. I call thousands who were educated like myself to bear witness of this.' Then, alluding to the book which De Ravignan has called '*Le Dictionnaire de la Calomnie,*' 'he adds, 'They, like all other religious orders, have had in darker times, casuists, who have treated questions for and against, which are now cleared away or forgotten.' And, in conclusion, he asserts, 'That nothing can be more unreasonable, more shameful to humanity, than this accusation of a relaxed morality in men who are leading the most rigorous life possible, in Europe, and seeking death at the extremities of the eastern and western world.' The letter is dated January 7.

Sismondi, writing of the Jesuit system of morals, says, 'They have made great advances in this noble science, and

¹ Pascal.

we owe to them, PERHAPS, MORE THAN TO THE BIBLE ITSELF, the establishment of that system we now possess of Christian morality.'

Chateaubriand thought that the banishment of the Jesuits was an irreparable loss to cultivated and learned Europe :—
 'Ils étaient singulièrement agréables à la jeunesse ; leurs manières polies ôtaient à leurs leçons ce ton pédantesque qui rebute l'enfance. Comme la plupart de leurs professeurs étaient des hommes de lettres recherchés dans le monde, les jeunes gens ne se croyaient avec eux que dans une illustre académie. Ils avaient su établir entre leurs écoliers de différentes fortunes une sorte de patronage qui tournait au profit des sciences ; ces liens, formés dans l'âge où le cœur s'ouvre aux sentimens généreux, ne se brisaient plus dans la suite, et établissaient entre le prince et l'homme de lettres ces antiques et nobles amitiés qui vivaient entre les Scipion et les Lélius.'

If you ask now in Paris for the poetry of Gresset, you will probably receive a copy in which his 'Adieux aux Jésuites' are omitted. He had been educated by them ; even entered on his novitiate, and did not finally free himself till he was five-and-twenty. For the charming story of 'Ver Vert,' which has made its author immortal, gave such offence to the Abbess of the Visitation Convent at Nevers, that she appealed to her relations at Paris to procure some reparation from the Jesuits ; and they, for peace sake, sent him from Tours to La Flèche ; there, he asked and obtained his dismissal from the order ; and, writing to the Abbé Marquet, who had long prophesied that Gresset would find the restraints of a religious house insupportable, he thus expresses his reverence for the friends of his childhood and youth, under whose protection 'Ver Vert' and the 'Voyage à La Flèche' were written ; a rather remarkable proof of their indulgent liberality—

'Oui, même en la brisant j'ai regretté ma chaîne,
 Et je ne me suis vu libre qu'en soupirant.
 Je dois tous mes regrets aux sages que je quitte,
 J'en perds avec douleur l'entretien vertueux,

¹ Génie du Christianisme.

Et si dans leurs foyers désormais je n'habite,
Mon cœur me survit auprès d'eux.

Qu'il m'est doux de pouvoir leur rendre un témoignage
Dont l'intérêt, la crainte, l'espoir sont exclus !
A leur sort le mien ne tient plus,
Et l'impartialité peut tracer leur image ;

' Oui, j'ai vu des mortels, j'en dois ici l'aveu,
Trop combattus, et connus trop peu ;
J'ai vu des esprits vrais, des cœurs incorruptibles,
Voués à la patrie, à leur roi, à leur Dieu ;
A leurs propres maux insensibles ;
Prodigues de leurs jours tendres et parfaits amis,
Et souvent bienfaiteurs paisibles
De leurs plus fougueux ennemis ;
Trop estimés enfin pour être moins hais.'

We have evidence that the spirit and character of the Jesuits have not degenerated in modern times.

Lamartine, who rejects the dogmas of Christianity, says 'Je n'aime pas l'institut des Jésuites,' and agrees with Voltaire in thinking priests 'enemies of human philosophy,' speaks thus of his residence with the Jesuits at Bellay:—

' I found in a few days the prodigious difference between a purchased education and one inspired by a pious devotedness of which Heaven is the sole reward . . . I found the Divine Spirit there, purity, prayer, charity, a gentle and parental watchfulness, the genial tone of domestic life, children affectionate and loved, with happy countenances . . . I had been made hard and bitter, I was now touched and attached; I bent willingly to the yoke which these excellent masters made pleasant and light. All their art consisted in creating within ourselves an interest in the success of the house, and in leading us by our own will and energy. A Divine Spirit seemed to animate alike the masters and the pupils . . . our souls aspired as by their natural instinct towards the good and beautiful; the most rebellious were borne away by the general enthusiasm. It was there I learned how men can be governed without constraint and by inspiration. The religious sentiments of our masters were shared by us all; they HAD THE ART OF

CREATING IN US A PASSIONATE LOVE OF GOD: with this lever in our hearts they could move us in any direction . . . And they did not only seem to love us, but they loved us in reality as saints love their duties . . . They began by making me happy, they soon made me good; religion revived in my soul, and became the motive of my perseverance in study . . .

‘I took leave gratefully,’ he says, ‘of these excellent masters who had moulded at once my soul and my understanding; who had made their love of God overflow in love and zeal for His children’ . . . and he names some of them who were ‘friends rather than masters, who have ever remained in my memory as models of holiness, vigilance, paternal tenderness, and indulgence towards their pupils . . . THEIR ZEAL WAS TOO ARDENT TO HAVE ANY BUT A SUPERNATURAL AND DIVINE PRINCIPLE; their faith was sincere, their life blameless, hard, renouncing themselves at every moment, and to the end, for the sake of duty and of God.’

He wrote, on leaving Bellay, some melodious lines marking his affectionate regrets:—

‘Asile vertueux, qui forma mon enfance
A l’amour des humains, à la crainte de Dieu,
Où je sauvai la fleur de ma tendre innocence,
Reçois mes pleurs et mes adieux.

‘O vous dont les leçons, les soins, et la tendresse
Guidaient mes faibles pas au sentier de vertus,
Aimables sectateurs d’une aimable sagesse,
Bientôt je ne vous verrai plus!

‘Non, vous ne pourrez plus condescendre et sourire
A ces plaisirs si purs pleins d’innocens appas,
Sous le poid des chagrins si mon âme soupire,
Vous ne la consolerez pas!

‘En butte aux passions, au fort de la tourmente,
Si leur fougue un instant m’écartait de vos loix,
Puisse au fond de mon cœur votre image vivante
Me tenir lieu de votre voix.

‘ Qu’elle allume en mon cœur un remords salulaire,
 Qu’elle fasse couler les pleurs du repentir ;
 Et que des passions l’ivresse téméraire
 Se calme à votre souvenir.

These Fathers, who had renounced mundane love for themselves, taught it to their young pupils—

‘ Je veux que le devoir puisse approuver ma flamme.
 Je ne veux aimer qu’une fois ;
 Ainsi dans la vertu ma jeunesse formée
 Trouvera toujours un appui tout nouveau,
 Sur l’océan du monde une route assurée
 Et son espérance au tombeau.

‘ A son dernier soupir, mon âme défaillante
 Bénira les mortels qui firent mon bonheur ;
 On entendra redire à ma bouche mourante
 Leurs noms si chéris de mon cœur.’

An English clergyman,¹ who recently went to Rome ‘with feelings of extreme and intense distaste for the Jesuits’ which only ‘became more rooted and inveterate,’ nevertheless declares, ‘I am bound in all candour and honesty to say that I found them polished, refined, well-informed, learned. . . . courteous, obliging, zealous ; and, while *I feel they are utterly in error in all their principles,*’ he closed his intercourse with them, ‘with many regrets at parting with men whose talent and zeal commanded my respect, and whose character had won my regard.’ And he goes on to speak of their ‘greatly exalted character for science, theology, and literature. . . . zeal for religion, unimpeached morality pre-eminence in influence and respectability extraordinary ability, zeal and learning.’ ‘However prejudiced against them,’ he adds, ‘*still one is constrained in spite of all to yield respect to the Order. . . .*’ Wide extent and range of learning, large amount of talent, zeal for religion (as before) ; and there is the appearance of the strictest morality in their lives.’ He thinks it impossible for any observing man at Rome not to be impressed with the high position of the order, and, in despite of all, to

¹ The Rev. Hobart Seymour.

yield respect to a Society which yet he considers so ‘utterly erroneous in all its principles’—a rather singular instance of persistency in believing that these excellent figs are gathered from mere thistles.¹

A Protestant gentleman (Charles Macfarlane) travelling in Italy in 1849, describes the regrets of his Roman landlord, and two or three other Trasteverini, at the banishment of the Jesuits. ‘Let them say what they will of the *Padri Gesuiti*, they were the friends of the poor, the best friends we ever had. Who took our children out of the streets, and clothed them and taught them? Who always gave us good advice when we were in trouble? Who attended the sick, and gave us medicines, when the hospitals were all full and we could get nothing? When the cholera was here, who came among us, stood at the bedside of the sick, and comforted the dying, and said the prayers for the dead? The *Gesuiti*—*e sieno benedetti dapertutto si trovano*—and God bless them, wherever they are!’

The Rev. Percival Ward, who witnessed the expulsion of the Jesuits from Naples in 1848, says, that when he left England he was as prejudiced as any of his countrymen against them. ‘Many things in the Roman system I admired, but the Jesuits I thoroughly detested.’ In travelling slowly through Europe, Mr. Ward observed that they seemed the favourite confessors and teachers of the poor; good men spoke well of them, bad men spoke ill; and he was told by ‘a good and sensible Protestant’ at Berne, ‘The cry against the Jesuits is a cry against the Christian

¹ Carlyle puts these words into the mouth of Frederick the Great, who protected and sheltered the Society when the Brief of Clement XIV. had banished it from most of the Catholic countries:—‘Why have they destroyed the depositaries of the graces of Rome and Athens, those excellent Professors of the Humanities, and perhaps of Humanity, the ex-Jesuit Fathers? Education will be the loser by it. But as my brothers, the kings most Catholic, most Christian, most Faithful and Apostolic, have tumbled them out, I, most heretical, pick up as many as I can. “Perhaps one day I shall be courted for the sake of them, by those who want some.” . . . I said, counting my stock the other day, “a rector like you, my Father, I could easily sell for 300 thalers; you, reverend Father Provincial, for 600; and so the rest in proportion. When one is not rich, one makes speculations!”’

religion and all order.' At Naples 'their very great intellectual superiority' made him seek the conversation of the Jesuits; he became familiarised in their convent, he saw their way of life, system of education, clear-sighted patriotism; and the result is, that he describes them as 'men of high thoughts and humble toil; of lofty intellect and patient labour; of noble courage and gentle charity; faithful priests, who, having taken up their cross daily, and followed Christ strictly, have shared with Him the world's despite and scorn; patient and loving instructors of youth, champions of Christendom, noble bearers of the standard of the cross through an age of self-indulgence, lax morals, and wavering faith.'

And he, this Church of England clergyman, concludes with words like those repeated by Mr. Macfarlane: ¹—

'Wherever they go, God's blessing will go with them; the blessings of the poor, who were fed daily at their gates; of the prisoners, whom they daily visited; of the young, whom they instructed for this world, and guided to happiness in the next; of all that vast multitude which had heard from them the soundest and most glorious gospel truth.' Very easy it would be, and very pleasant, to add many more such loving expressions as these; but it is time to make an end. Those who have dwelt longest on the noble character and achievements of Ignatius will probably admire them most. Those who best know his living disciples will be the most ready to revere their predecessors, as amongst the greatest benefactors and highest examples of humanity that the world has yet seen.

¹ I wish that we could give the whole of Mr. Ward's pamphlet; it is exceedingly interesting, and might help to form the judgment of some doubters respecting the tyranny of liberalism, the cruelty of philanthropists, and the bigotry of men who profess to despise religion altogether.

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